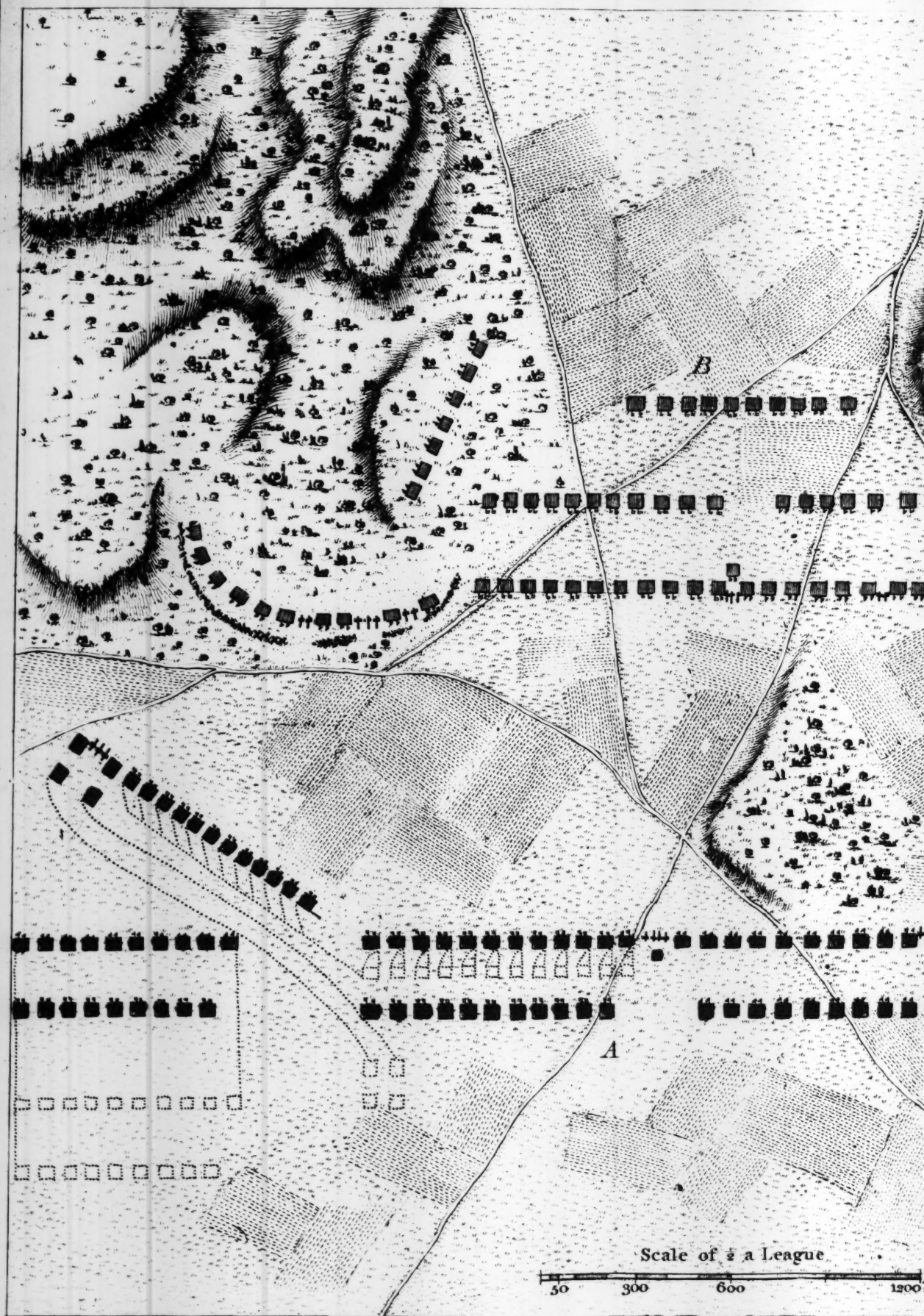
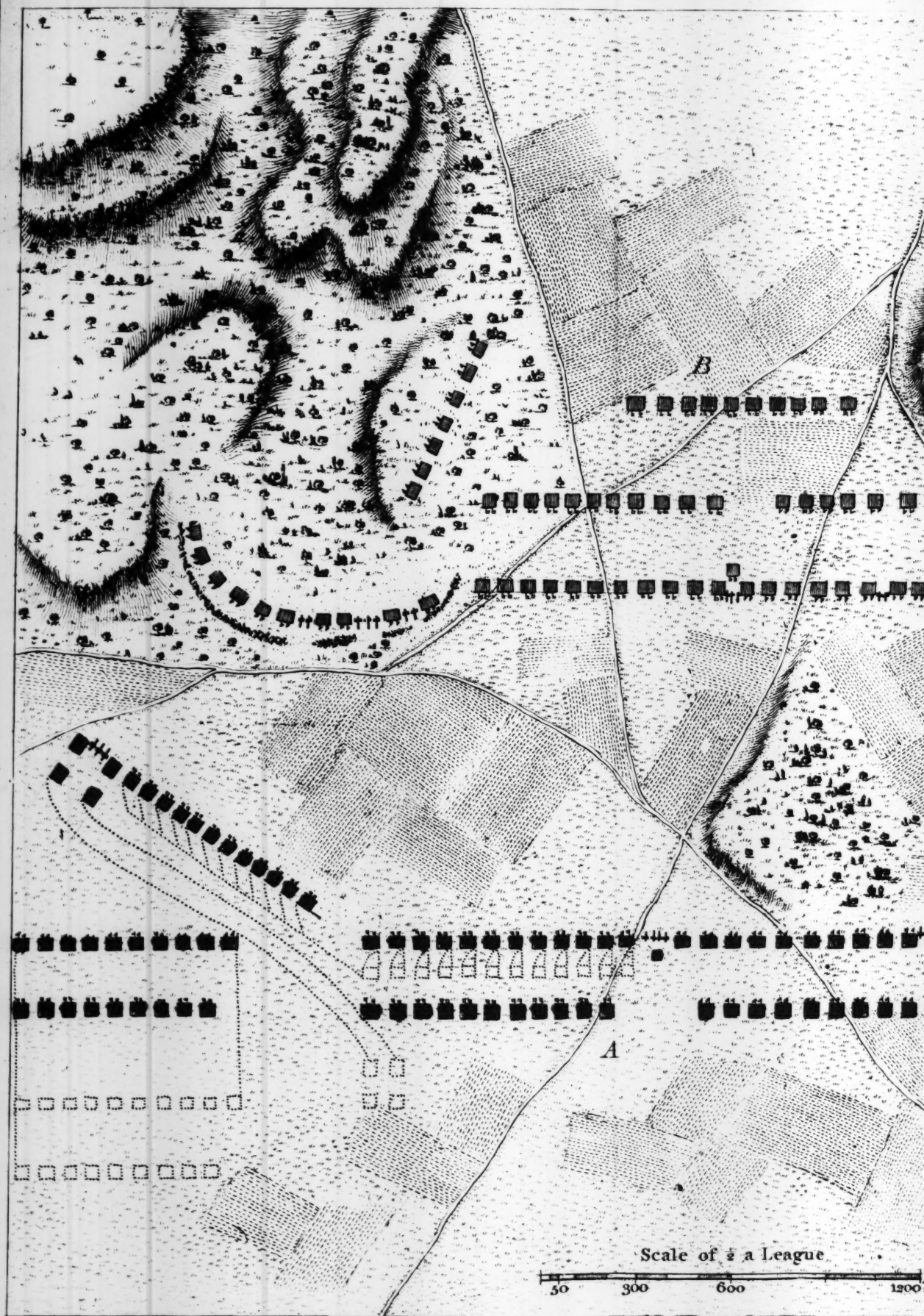




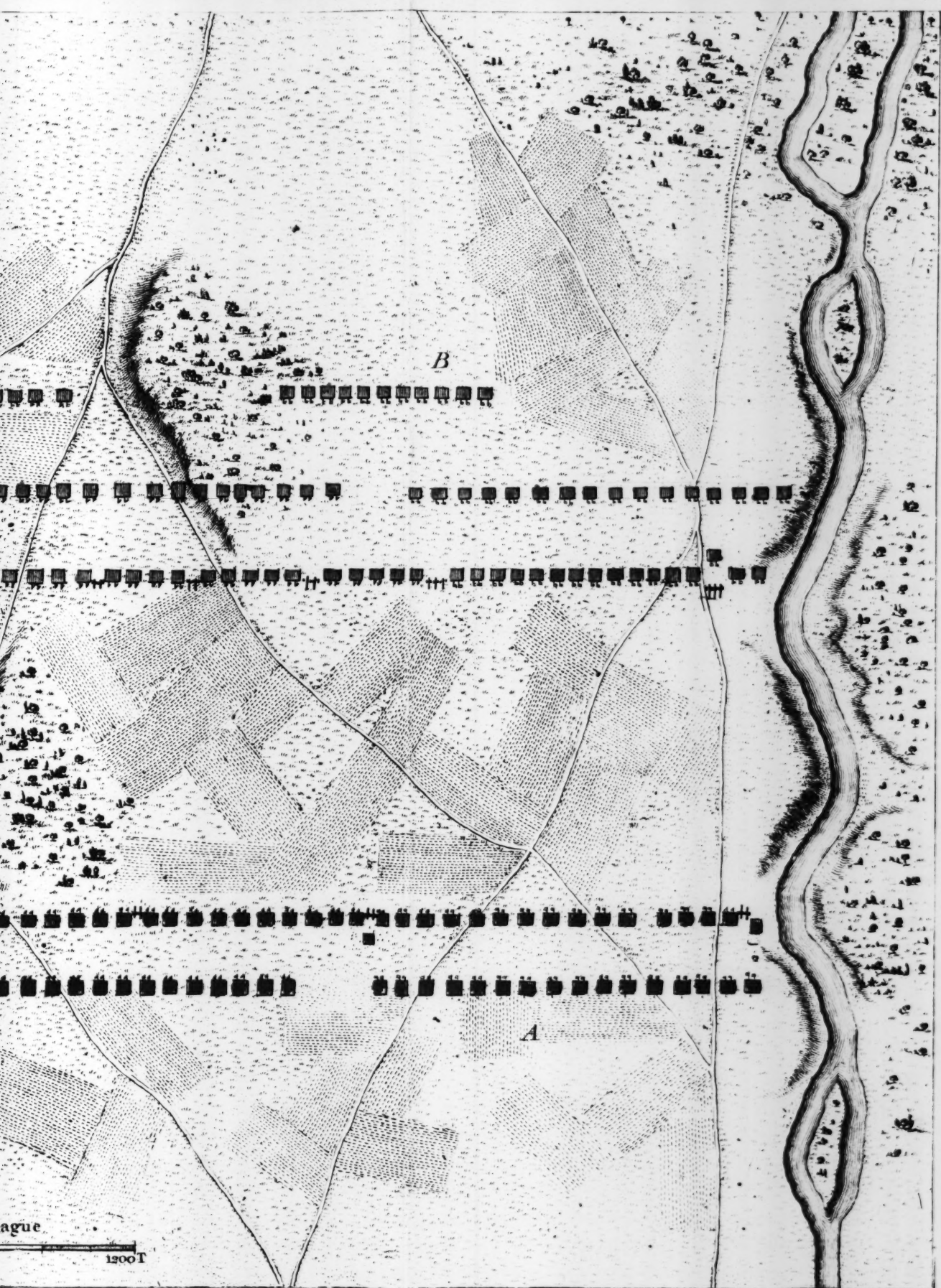
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THE ORDER OF BATTLE.

the Act directs March 23rd 1790, by J. Wilkes.

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THE
NAVAL AND MILITARY
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
WARS OF ENGLAND;
FROM THE ROMAN INVASION TO THE TERMINATION
OF THE LATE WAR.

INCLUDING THE
WARS of SCOTLAND and IRELAND.

IN WHICH IS GIVEN,
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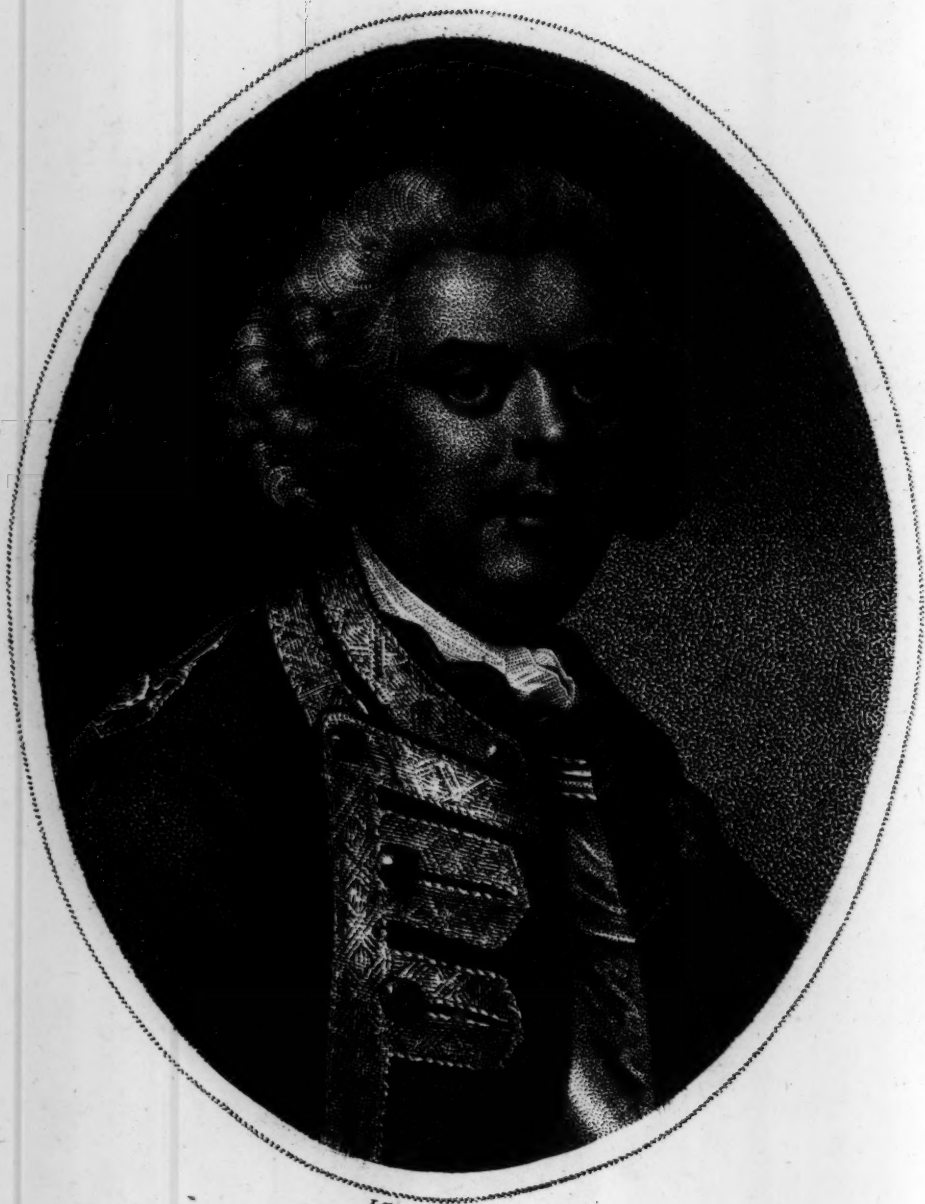
CALCULATED
To inspire the Rising Generation with MAGNANIMITY and VIRTUE,
and to IMPRESS on their MINDS the generous ARDOUR and NOBLE
EMULATION of their ANCESTORS.

By the late THOMAS MANTE, Esq.
AUTHOR OF MILITARY TACTICS, AND MAJOR OF BRIGADE
UNDER GENERAL SIR GUY CARLETON.
CONTINUED TO THE END OF THE LATE WAR, BY AN ABLE AND
IMPARTIAL HAND.

ORNAMENTED WITH ELEGANT COPPER-PLATES.

VOLUME THE SEVENTH.

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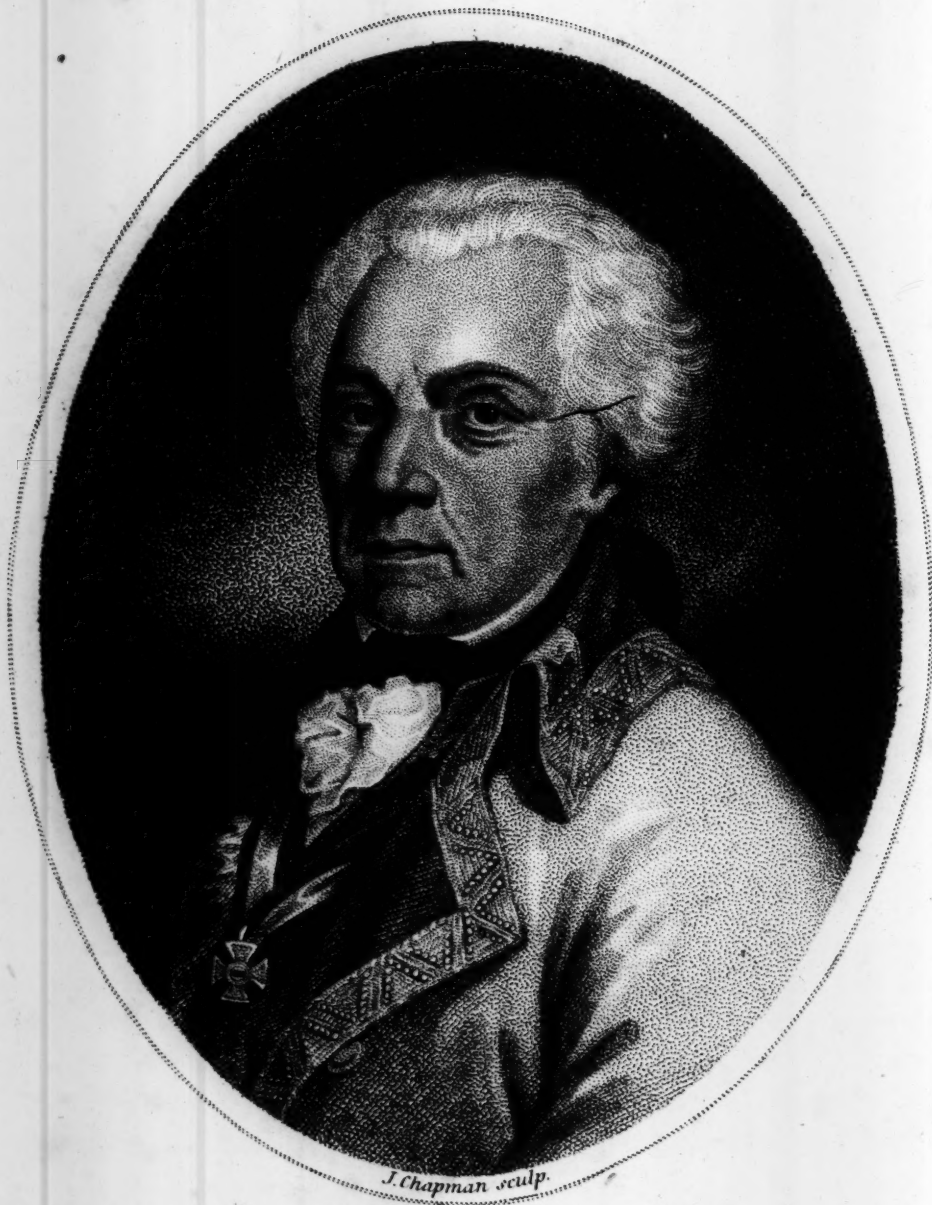


J. Chapman sculp.

GENERAL KINGSLEY

Published as the Act directs. Apr. 1. 1800.





GENERAL KRAY

Published as the act directs Aug^r 1800





J. Chapman sculp.

SELIM III.

Emperor of the Turks.

Published as the Act directs Feb. 22. 1799.

THE
NAVAL AND MILITARY
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
WARS OF ENGLAND.

OF THE WARS OF ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN
OF GEORGE III.

WE have seen that, by the definitive treaty of peace concluded at Paris, between Great Britain, France, and Spain, in the year 1763, the English ceded to the French several islands which they had taken from them in the West-Indies, but were confirmed in the possession of all North America on this side the Mississippi, except the island of Orleans. But this war, however brilliant the successes and glorious the event, proved the cause of great and unexpected misfortunes to Great Britain. Engaged with the combined powers of France and Spain during several years, her exertions were surprising, and her expense immense. To discharge the debts of the nation, the parliament was obliged to have recourse to new expedients for raising money. Previous to the last treaty in 1763, the parliament had been satisfied to raise a revenue from the American colonies by a monopoly of their trade.

It will be proper there to observe, that there were four kinds of government established in the British American colonies. The first was a charter govern-

ment, by which the powers of legislation were vested in a governor, council, and assembly, chosen by the people: of this kind were the governments of Connecticut and Rhode island. The second was a proprietary government, in which the proprietor of the province was governor; although he generally resided abroad, and administered the government by a deputy of his own appointment; the assembly only being chosen by the people: such were the governments of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and originally of New Jersey and Carolina. The third kind was that of royal government, where the governor and council were appointed by the crown, and the assembly by the people: of this kind were the governments of New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey (after the year 1702,) Virginia, the Carolinas after the resignation of the proprietors in 1728, and Georgia. The fourth kind was that of Massachusetts's, which differed from all the rest. The governor was appointed by the king; so far it was a royal government; but the members of the council were elected by the representatives of the people. The governor, however, had a right to negative a certain number, but not to fill up vacancies thus occasioned.

This variety of governments created different degrees of dependence on the crown. In the royal government, to render a law valid, it was constitutionally required that it should be ratified by the king; but the charter governments were empowered to enact laws, and no ratification by the king was necessary. It was only required that such laws should not be contrary to the laws of England. The charter of Connecticut was express to this purpose.

Such was the state of the British colonies at the conclusion of the war in 1763. Their flourishing condition at this time was remarkable and striking: their trade had prospered in the midst of all the difficulties and distresses of a war in which they were so nearly and so immediately concerned. Their population

lation continued on the increase, notwithstanding the ravages and depredations that had been so fiercely carried on by the French, and the native Indians in their alliance. They abounded with spirited and active individuals of all denominations. They were flushed with the uncommon prosperity that had attended them in their commercial affairs and military transactions. Hence they were ready for all kind of undertakings, and saw no limits to their hopes and expectations.

Their improvements in the necessary and useful arts did honour to their industry and ingenuity. Though they did not live in the luxury of Europe, they had all the solid and substantial enjoyments of life, and were not unacquainted with many of its elegancies and refinements. A circumstance much to their praise is, that, notwithstanding their peculiar addiction to those occupations of which lucre is the sole object, they were duly attentive to cultivate the field of learning; and they have ever since their first foundation been particularly careful to provide for the education of the rising progeny. Their vast augmentation of internal trade and external commerce, was not merely owing to their position and facility of communication with other parts; it arose also from their natural turn and temper, full of schemes and projects; ever aiming at new discoveries, and continually employed in the search of means of improving their condition. Their industry carried them into every quarter from whence profit could be derived. There was scarcely any port of the American hemisphere to which they had not extended their navigation. They were continually exploring new sources of trade, and were found in every spot where business could be transacted. To this extensive and incessant application to commerce, they added an equal vigilance in the administration of their affairs at home. Whatever could conduce to the amelioration of the soil they possessed, to the progress of agriculture, or to the

the improvement of their domestic circumstances, was attended to with so much labour and care, that it may be strictly said, that nature had given them nothing of which they did not make the most. In the midst of this solicitude and toil in matters of business, the affairs of government were conducted with a steadiness, prudence, and activity, seldom experienced, and never exceeded, in the best-regulated countries of Europe.

At the beginning of the war with France, commissioners from many of the colonies had assembled at Albany, and proposed that a great council should be formed by deputies from the several colonies, which, with a general governor to be appointed by the crown, should be empowered to take measures for the common safety, and to raise money for the execution of their designs. This proposal was not relished by the British ministry; but, in place of this plan, it was proposed, that the governors of the colonies, with one or two of their council, should assemble and concert measures for the general defence; erect forts, levy troops, and draw on the treasury of England for the monies that should be wanted; but the treasury to be reimbursed by a tax on the colonies, to be laid by the British parliament. To this plan, which would imply an avowal of the right of parliament to tax the colonies, the provincial assemblies objected with unshaken firmness. Hence it seems that the British parliament, even before the war, had it in contemplation to exercise the right of taxing the colonies, without permitting them to be represented. The colonies, however, with an uncommon foresight and firmness, defeated these attempts, and the war was carried on by requisitions on the colonies for supplies of men and money, or by voluntary contributions.

But no sooner was peace concluded, than the English parliament resumed the scheme of taxing America; and, in March, 1764, a bill was passed, by which duties were laid on goods imported by the colonists
from

from such West-India islands as did not belong to Great Britain; at the same time that these duties were to be paid into the exchequer in specie: and, in the same session, another bill was framed to restrain the currency of paper-money in the colonies themselves. These acts, coming so close upon each other, threw the whole colonies into the utmost ferment. Vehement remonstrances were made to the ministry, and every argument made use of that reason or ingenuity could suggest, but to no purpose. The Americans, thus finding all arguments vain, united in an agreement to import no more of the manufactures of Great Britain, but to encourage to their utmost of the power every thing of that kind among themselves. Previous to this, indeed, several regulations were passed in favour of the commerce of the colonies; but they had now imbibed such unfavourable sentiments of the British ministry, that they paid very little regard to any thing pretended to be done in their favour; or, if these acts made any favourable impression, it was quickly obliterated by the news of the stamp-act. The reason given for this act, so exceedingly obnoxious, was, that a sum might be raised sufficient for the defence of the colonies against a foreign enemy; but this pretence was so far from giving any satisfaction to the Americans, that it excited their indignation to the utmost degree. They not only asserted that they were abundantly able to defend themselves against any foreign enemy, but denied that England had any right to tax them at all, unless they were allowed the privilege of sending representatives to the British parliament.

It would be superfluous to enter into any of the arguments used by the contending parties on this important occasion. The stamp-act, after a violent opposition, was passed, and its reception in America was such as might have been expected. The news, and the act itself, first arrived at Boston, where the bells were muffled and rung a funeral peal. The act was first
hawked

hawked about the streets with a death's head affixed to it, and styled the "Folly of England, and the ruin of America;" and afterwards publicly burnt by the enraged populace. The stamps themselves were seized upon and destroyed; those who were to receive the stamp-duties were compelled to resign their offices; and such of the Americans as sided with government had their houses plundered and burnt.

It was now found absolutely necessary either to yield to the Americans, by repealing the obnoxious statutes, or to enforce them by arms. The ferment had diffused itself universally throughout the colonies. Non-importation agreements were every where entered into; and it was even resolved to prevent the sale of any more British goods after the present year. American manufactures, though dearer, as well as inferior in quality to the British, were universally preferred. An association was entered into against eating of lamb, in order to promote the growth of wool; and the ladies with cheerfulness agreed to renounce the use of every species of ornament manufactured in Britain. Such a general and alarming confederacy determined the ministry to repeal some of the most obnoxious statutes; and to this they were the more inclined by a petition from the first American congress, held at New York in October 1765.

The stamp-act was therefore repealed, to the universal joy of the Americans, and indeed to the general satisfaction of the English, whose manufactures had begun to suffer very severely in consequence of the American association against them. The ministry were conscious, that, in repealing this obnoxious act, they yielded to the Americans; and therefore, to support, as they thought, the dignity of Great Britain, it was judged proper to publish a declaratory bill, setting forth the authority of the mother-country over her colonies, and her power to bind them by laws and statutes *in all cases whatever*. This much diminished the joy

joy with which the repeal of the stamp-act was received in America. It was considered as a proper reason to enforce any claims equally prejudicial with the stamp-act, which might hereafter be set up; a spirit of jealousy pervaded the whole continent, and a strong party was formed, watchful on every occasion to guard against the supposed encroachments of the British power.

It was not long before an occasion offered, in which the Americans manifested a spirit of absolute independency; and that, instead of being bound by the English legislature in all cases, they would not be controuled by it in the most trivial affairs. The Rockingham ministry had passed an act, providing the troops stationed in different parts of the colonies with such accommodations as were necessary for them. The assembly of New York, however, took upon them to alter the mode of execution prescribed by the act of parliament, and to substitute one of their own. This gave great offence to the new ministry, and rendered them, though composed of those who had been active against the stamp-bill, less favourable to the colonies than in all probability they would have otherwise been. An unlucky circumstance at the same time occurred, which threw every thing once more into confusion. One of the new ministry, Mr. Charles Townsend, having declared that he could find a way of taxing the Americans without giving them offence, was called upon to propose his plan. This was by imposing a duty upon tea, paper, painters' colours, and glass, imported into America. The undutiful behaviour of the New York assembly, and that of Boston, which had proceeded in a similar manner, caused this bill to meet with less opposition than it otherwise might have done. As a punishment to the refractory assemblies, the legislative power was taken from that of New York, until it should fully comply with the terms of the act. That of Boston at last submitted with reluctance. The

bill for the new taxes was quickly passed, and sent to America in 1768.

A ferment much greater than that occasioned by the stamp-act now took place, which was farther augmented by the news that a number of troops had been ordered to repair to Boston, to keep the inhabitants in awe. A dreadful alarm pervaded the whole town: and the people called on the governor to convene a general assembly, in order to remove their fears of the military; who they said were to be assembled to overthrow their liberties, and force obedience to laws to which they were entirely averse. The governor replied, that it was no longer in his power to call an assembly; having in his last instructions from England, being required to wait the king's orders, the matter being then under consideration at home. Being thus refused, the people took upon themselves the formation of an assembly, which they called a *Convention*. The proceedings and resolutions of this were conformable to their former behaviour; but now they went a step farther, and, under pretence of an approaching rupture with France, ordered the inhabitants to put themselves in a posture of defence against any sudden attack of an enemy; and circular letters were directed to all the towns in the province, acquainting them with the resolutions that had been taken in the capital, and exhorting them to proceed in the same manner. The town of Hatfield alone refused its concurrence; but this served only to expose it to the censure and contempt of the rest. The convention thought proper to assure the governor of their pacific intentions, and renewed their request that an assembly might be called; but being refused any audience, and threatened with being treated as rebels, they at last thought proper to dissolve of themselves, and sent over to England a circumstantial account of their proceedings, with the reason of their having assembled in the manner already mentioned.

The

The expected troops arrived at Boston on the very day on which the convention broke up, and had some houses in the town prepared for their reception. Their arrival had a considerable influence on the people, and for some time seemed to put an end to the disturbances; but the seeds of discord had taken such deep root, that it was impossible to destroy them. The late spirited behaviour in Boston had given the greatest offence in England; and, notwithstanding all the efforts of opposition, an address from both houses of parliament was presented to the king; in which the daring behaviour of the colony of Massachusetts's bay was circumstantially set forth, and the most vigorous measures recommended for reducing them to obedience. The Americans, however, continued steadfast in the ideas they had adopted. Though the troops had for some time quieted the disturbances, yet the calm continued no longer than they appeared respectable on account of their number; but, as soon as this was diminished by the departure of a large detachment, the remainder were treated with contempt, and it was even resolved to expel them altogether. The country people took up arms for this purpose, and were to have assisted their friends in Boston; but, before the plot could be put in execution, an event happened which put an end to every idea of reconciliation betwixt the contending parties.

On the 5th of March 1770, a scuffle happened between some soldiers and a party of the town's people. The soldiers, while under arms, were pressed upon, insulted, and pelted, by a mob, armed with clubs, sticks, and snow-balls covering stones; they were also dared to fire. In this situation, one of the soldiers, who had received a blow, in resentment fired at the supposed aggressor. This was followed by a single discharge from six others; so that three of the inhabitants were killed, and five dangerously wounded. The town was immediately in commotion; and such was

the temper, force, and number, of the inhabitants, that nothing but an engagement to remove the troops out of the town, together with the advice of moderate men, prevented the townsmen from falling on the soldiers. The killed were buried in one vault, and in a most respectful manner, in order to express the indignation of the inhabitants at the slaughter of their brethren, by soldiers quartered among them, in violation of their civil liberties. Captain Preston, who commanded the party which fired on the inhabitants, was committed to jail, and afterwards tried; but the captain, and six of the men, were acquitted, and two only brought in guilty of man-slaughter; for it appeared on the trial, that the soldiers were insulted, threatened, and pelted, before they fired: and it was also proved, that only seven guns were fired by the eight prisoners; these circumstances, therefore, induced the jury to make a favourable verdict. The result of the trial reflected great honour on John Adams, and Josiah Quincey, Esqrs, the counsel for the prisoners; and also on the integrity of the jury, who ventured to give an upright verdict, in defiance of popular opinions. The consequences of this tragical event sunk deep into the minds of the people, and were made subservient to important purposes. The anniversary of it was observed with great solemnity for thirteen years, when eloquent orators were successively employed to deliver an annual oration, to preserve the remembrance of it fresh in their minds. On these occasions the blessings of liberty, the horrors of slavery, the dangers of a standing army, the rights of the colonies, and a variety of such topics, were represented to the public view under their most pleasing and alarming forms. These annual orations administered fuel to the fire of liberty, and kept it burning with an incessant flame.

The determination of the Americans now continued, if possible, more firm than ever, until at last government, resolved to act with vigour, and at the same

same time to behave with as much condescension as possible, repealed all the duties lately laid on, that of tea alone excepted. This was left on purpose to maintain the dignity of the crown of England; and it was thought that it could not be productive of any discontent in America, as being an affair of very little moment, the produce of which was not expected to exceed 16,000*l*. The opposition, however, were strenuous in their endeavours to get this tax likewise abrogated; insisting, that the Americans would consider it only as an inlet to others; and that the repeal of all the rest, without this, would answer no good purpose. The event shewed that their opinion was well founded. The Americans opposed the tea-tax with the same violence as they had done all the rest: and, at last, on the news that salaries had been settled on the justices of the superior court of Boston, the governor was addressed on the subject; the measure was condemned in the strongest terms; and a committee selected out of the several districts of the colony appointed to enquire into it.

The new assembly proceeded in the most formal manner to disavow the supremacy of the British legislature; and accused the parliament of Britain of having violated the natural rights of the Americans in a number of instances. Copies of the transactions of this assembly were transmitted to every town in Massachusetts, exhorting the inhabitants to rouse themselves, and exert every nerve in opposition to the iron hand of oppression, which was daily tearing the choicest fruits from the fair tree of liberty. The disturbances were also greatly heightened by an accidental discovery that Mr. Hutchinson, governor of Massachusetts bay, had written several confidential letters to people in power in England, complaining of the behaviour of the province, recommending vigorous measures against them, and, among other things, asserting, that "there must be an abridgment of what is called British liberty."

liberty." Letters of this kind had some how or other fallen into the hands of the agent for the colony at London. They were immediately transmitted to Boston, where the assembly was sitting, by whom they were laid before their governor, who was thus reduced to a very mortifying situation. Losing every idea of respect or friendship for him as their governor, they instantly dispatched a petition to the king, requesting him to remove the governor and deputy-governor from their places; but to this they not only received no favourable answer, but the petition itself was declared groundless and scandalous.

Matters were now ripe for the utmost extremities on the part of the Americans; and they were brought on in the following manner: Though the colonists had entered into a non importation agreement against tea as well as all other commodities from Britain, it had nevertheless found its way into America, though in smaller quantities than before. This was sensibly felt by the East-India company, who had now agreed to pay a large sum annually to government; in recompence for which compliance, and to make up their losses in other respects, they were empowered to export their tea free from any duty payable in Britain; and, in consequence of this permission, several ships freighted with the commodity were sent to North America, and proper agents appointed for the disposing of it. The Americans, now perceiving that the tax was thus likely to be enforced whether they would or not, determined to take every possible method to prevent the tea from being landed, as well knowing that it would be impossible to hinder the sale should the commodity once be brought on shore. For this purpose the people assembled in great numbers, forcing those to whom the tea was consigned to resign their offices, and to promise solemnly never to resume them; and committees were appointed to examine the accounts of merchants, and make public tests, declaring such as would

would not take them enemies to their country. In the midst of this confusion, three ships laden with tea arrived at Boston; but so much were the captains alarmed at the disposition which seemed to prevail among the people, that they offered, provided they could obtain the proper discharges from the tea-assignees, custom-house, and governor, to return to England without landing their cargoes. The parties concerned, however, though they durst not order the tea to be landed, refused to grant the discharges required. The ships, therefore, would have been obliged to remain in the harbour; but the people, apprehensive that if they remained there the tea would be landed in small quantities, and disposed of in spite of every endeavour to prevent it, resolved to destroy it at once. This resolution was executed with equal speed and secrecy. The very evening after the above-mentioned discharges had been refused, a number of people, dressed like Mohawk Indians, boarded the ships, and threw into the sea their whole cargoes, consisting of 342 chests of tea; after which they retired without making any farther disturbance, or doing any more damage. No tea was destroyed in other places, though the same spirit was every where manifested. At Philadelphia the pilots were enjoined not to conduct the vessels up the river; and at New York, though the governor caused some tea to be landed under the protection of a man-of-war, he was obliged to deliver it up to the custody of the people, to prevent its being sold.

The destruction of the tea at Boston, which happened in November 1773, was the immediate prelude to the disasters attending civil discord. Government, finding themselves every where insulted and despised, resolved to enforce their authority by all possible means; and, as Boston had been the principal scene of the riots and outrages, it was determined to punish that city in an exemplary manner. Parliament was acquainted,

quainted, by a message from his majesty, with the undutiful behaviour of the city of Boston, as well as of the colonies; recommending, at the same time, the most vigorous and spirited exertions, to reduce them to obedience. The parliament in its address promised a ready compliance; and indeed the Americans, by their outrageous behaviour, had now lost many of their partizans. It was proposed to lay a fine on the town of Boston, equal to the price of the tea which had been destroyed, and to shut up its port by armed vessels, until the refractory spirit of the inhabitants should be subdued; which it was thought must quickly yield, as a total stop would thus be put to their trade. The bill was strongly opposed, on the same grounds that the other had been; and it was predicted, that, instead of having any tendency to reconcile or subdue the Americans, it would infallibly exasperate them beyond any possibility of reconciliation. The petitions against it, presented by the colony's agent, pointed out the same consequence in the strongest terms, and in the most positive manner declared, that the Americans never would submit to it: but such was the infatuation attending every rank and degree of men, that it never was imagined the Americans would dare to resist the parent state openly, but would in the end submit implicitly to her commands. In this confidence a third bill was proposed, for the impartial administration of justice on such persons as might be employed in the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachusetts's bay. By this act it was provided, that should any persons acting in that capacity be indicted for murder, and not able to obtain a fair trial in that province, they might be sent by the governor to England, or to some other colony, if necessary, to be tried for the supposed crime.

These three bills having passed, the ministry proposed a fourth, relative to the government of Canada; which, it was said, had not yet been settled on any proper

per plan. By this bill the extent of that province was greatly enlarged; its affairs were put under the direction of a council, in which Roman Catholics were to be admitted; the Roman Catholic clergy were secured in their possessions, and the usual perquisites from those of their own profession. The council above-mentioned were to be appointed by the crown, to be removeable at its pleasure; and to be invested with every legislative power, excepting that of taxation. A still greater opposition was made to this Quebec bill, inasmuch that, before it could be carried, the ministers were obliged to drop much of that high and aspiring tone to which they had accustomed themselves in talking of American affairs. The minority contended, that here, without any necessity pleaded, or even suggested, an arbitrary influence was extended by act of parliament to that province, furnishing a dangerous precedent, and an additional instance of the aversion which ministry bore to the rights of the people. They argued likewise in favour of the mode of trial by juries, and thought that the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion there gave it a preference over the Protestant, which was now only to be exercised by toleration. The people at large also were alarmed at the religious part of the bill, and it is not impossible that the suspicions conceived at this time might contribute in some measure to the dangerous insurrections of 1779 and 1780.

At the conclusion of the session his majesty expressed the greatest satisfaction at what had been done, and hopes of the good effects that would attend the new regulations. In Britain, the people seemed to wait the event with indifference; but no sooner were these laws made known in America, than they cemented the union of the colonies almost beyond any possibility of dissolving it. The assembly of Massachusetts had passed a vote against the judges accepting salaries from the crown, and put the question, Whether they would accept them as usual from the general assembly? Four answered in

the affirmative; but Peter Oliver, the chief-justice, refused. A petition against him, and an accusation, were brought before the governor; but the latter refused the accusation, and declined to interfere in the matter; but, as they still insisted for what they called justice against Mr. Oliver, the governor thought proper to put an end to the matter by dissolving the assembly.

In this situation of affairs, a new alarm was occasioned by the news of the Boston port-bill. This had been totally unexpected, and was received with the most extravagant expressions of displeasure among the populace; and, while these continued, the new governor, General Gage, arrived from England, May 1774. He had been chosen to this office on account of his being well acquainted in America, and generally agreeable to the people; but human wisdom could not now point out a method by which the flame could be allayed. The first act of his office, as governor, was to remove the assembly to Salem, a town seventeen miles distant, in consequence of the late act. When this was intimated to the assembly, they replied by requesting him to appoint a day of public humiliation for deprecating the wrath of heaven, but met with a refusal. When met at Salem, they passed a resolution, declaring the necessity of a general congress composed of delegates from all the provinces in order to take the affairs of the colonies at large into consideration; and five gentlemen, remarkable for their opposition to the British measures, were chosen to represent that of Massachusetts's bay. They then proceeded with all expedition to draw up a declaration, containing a detail of the grievances they laboured under, and the necessity of exerting themselves against lawless power; they set forth the disregard shewn to their petitions, and the attempts of Great Britain to destroy their ancient constitution; and concluded with exhorting the inhabitants of the colony to obstruct,
by

by every method in their power, such evil designs; recommending at the same time, a total renunciation of every thing imported from Great Britain, till a redress of grievances could be procured. Intelligence of this declaration was carried to the governor on the very day it was completed; on which he dissolved the assembly. This was followed by an address from the inhabitants of Salem, in favour of those of Boston, and concluding with these remarkable words: "By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart; and, were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, and lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours."

It had been fondly hoped by the ministerial party at home, that the advantages which other towns of the colony might derive from the annihilation of the trade of Boston, would make them readily acquiesce in the measure of shutting up that port, and rather rejoice in it than otherwise; but the words of the address above-mentioned seemed to preclude all hope of this kind; and subsequent transactions soon manifested it to be totally vain. No sooner did intelligence arrive of the remaining bills passed in the session of 1774, than the cause of Boston became the cause of all the colonies. The port-bill had already occasioned violent commotions throughout them all. It had been reprobated in provincial meetings, and resistance, even to the last extremity, had been recommended against such oppression. In Virginia, the first of June, the day on which the port of Boston was to be shut up, was held as a day of humiliation, and a public intercession in favour of America was enjoined. The style of the prayer was, that "God would give the people one heart and

one mind, firmly to oppose every invasion of American rights." The Virginians, however, did not content themselves with acts of religion. They recommended, in the strongest manner, a general congress of all the colonies; as fully persuaded, that an attempt to tax any colony in an arbitrary manner, was in reality an attack upon the whole, and must ultimately end in the ruin of them all.

The provinces of New York and Pennsylvania were less sanguine than the rest, being so closely connected in trade with Great Britain, that the giving it up entirely appeared a matter of the most serious magnitude, and not to be thought of but after every other method had failed. The intelligence of the remaining bills respecting Boston, however, spread a fresh alarm throughout the continent, and fixed those who had seemed to be the most wavering. The proposal of giving up all commercial intercourse with Britain was again proposed; contributions for the inhabitants of Boston were raised in every quarter; and they every day received addresses, commending them for the heroic courage with which they sustained their calamity.

The Bostonians, on their part, were not wanting in their endeavours to promote the general cause. An agreement was framed, which, in imitation of former times, they called a "Solemn League and Covenant." By this the subscribers most religiously bound themselves to break off all communication with Britain after the expiration of the month of August ensuing, until the obnoxious acts were repealed; at the same time they engaged neither to purchase nor use any goods imported after that time, and to renounce all connection with those who did, or who refused to subscribe to this covenant; threatening to publish the names of the refractory, which at this time was a punishment by no means to be despised. Agreements of a similar kind were almost instantaneously entered into throughout all America. General Gage indeed attempted to

to counteract the covenant by a proclamation, wherein it was declared an illegal and traitorous combination, threatening with the pains of law such as subscribed or countenanced it. But matters were too far gone for his proclamation to have any effect. The Americans retorted the charge of illegality; and insisted, that the law allowed subjects to meet in order to consider of their grievances, and associate for relief from oppression.

Preparations were now made for holding the general congress so often proposed. Philadelphia, as being the most considerable town, was pitched upon for the place of its meeting. The delegates of whom it was to be composed, were chosen by the representatives of each province; and were in number from two to seven for each colony, though no province had more than one vote. The first congress, which met at Philadelphia, in the beginning of September, 1774, consisted of fifty-one delegates. The novelty and importance of the meeting excited an universal attention; and their transactions were such as could not but tend to render them respectable.

The first act of congress was an approbation of the conduct of Massachusetts's bay, and an exhortation to continue in the same spirit with which they had begun. Supplies for the suffering inhabitants (whom indeed the operation of the port-bill had reduced to great distress) were strongly recommended; and it was declared, that, in case of attempts to enforce the obnoxious acts by arms, all America should join to assist the town of Boston; and should the inhabitants be obliged, during the course of hostilities, to remove farther up the country, the losses they might sustain should be repaired at the public expence.

Matters thus went on, until every idea of reconciliation or friendship with Britain was lost. The Americans, without ceremony, began to seize on the military stores and ammunition belonging to government.

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This first commenced at Newport in Rhode Island, where the inhabitants carried off forty pieces of cannon appointed for the protection of the place; and, on being asked the reason of this proceeding, they replied, that the people had seized them lest they should be made use of against themselves. After this the assembly met, and resolved, that ammunition and warlike stores should be purchased with the public money. New Hampshire followed the example of Rhode Island, and seized a small fort, for the sake of the powder and military stores it contained. In Pennsylvania a convention was held, which expressed an earnest desire of reconciliation with the mother-country; though, at the same time, in the strongest manner declaring, that they were resolved to take up arms in defence of their just rights; and the people were exhorted to apply themselves with the greatest assiduity to the prosecution of such manufactures as were necessary for their defence and subsistence, such as salt, salt-petre, gun-powder, steel, &c.

Such was the posture of affairs in America, when the parliament of Great Britain, which had now sat six years, was suddenly dissolved, and a new one met on the 30th of November. The land-tax for 1775 was continued at three shillings in the pound; and only 16,000 seamen were required, which were four thousand less than the preceding year. These low establishments seemed but ill to agree with the measures that were to be enforced; but the first lord of the admiralty confidentially asserted in the house of lords, that a very inconsiderable force would reduce the rebellious colonies to obedience, and quoted a great naval commander, Sir Peter Warren, who died twenty years before, that had assured him that the Americans were poltrons and cowards. This assertion was carried across the Atlantic, and operated powerfully all over the continent, in rousing a martial spirit. Men may

may forgive injuries, but they never forgive contempt.

In the house of lords the Earl of Chatham moved for an address to his majesty, praying him to recal the troops from Boston: "It is not," says that eloquent statesman, "repealing this or that act of parliament, it is not cancelling a piece of parchment, that can restore America to your bosom: you must repeal her fears and her resentments; and you may then hope for her love and gratitude. But now, insulted with an armed force posted at Boston; irritated with an hostile array before her eyes; her concessions, if you could force them, would be suspicious and insecure; they will not be the sound honourable pactions of freemen; they will be the dictates of fear, and extortions of force. But it is more than evident that you cannot force them, principled and united as they are, to your unworthy terms of submission. It is impossible. When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America; when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation—I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master-states of the world—It has been my favourite study—yet I declare, that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men stand in preference to the general congress at Philadelphia. I trust that it is obvious to your lordships that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be fatal. We shall be forced ultimately to retract. Let us retract voluntarily, not wait till we must. I say we must necessarily undo these violent and oppressive acts: they *must* be repealed; you *will* repeal them; I pledge myself for it, that you will in
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the end repeal them; I stake my reputation on it. I will consent to be taken for an idiot if they are not repealed. Avoid then this humiliating disgraceful necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, to peace and happiness: for that is your true dignity, to act with prudence and with justice. That you should first concede, is obvious from sound and rational policy. Concession comes with better grace and more salutary effect from the superior power; it reconciles superiority of power with the feelings of men; and establishes solid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude. Every motive therefore of justice and policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America, by a removal of your troops from Boston—by a repeal of your acts of parliament—and by demonstration of amicable dispositions towards your colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend, to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures. Foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread; France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors. To conclude my lords: If the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the king, I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown; but I will affirm, that they will make the crown not worth his wearing: I will not say that the king is betrayed, but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone."—All his eloquence, however, proved ineffectual; administration was determined upon forcing the Americans into subjection, and his motion was rejected by 68 to 18.

In the mean time petitions against coercive measures with America had been received from most of the trading companies of the kingdom: which, though highly displeasing to administration, could not be absolutely rejected, though it was fully determined not to
yield

yield to their requests in the smallest degree. A committee was therefore appointed to take them into consideration, which was not to take place until the American affairs were also considered. The reason given for this method of proceeding was, that the consideration of commercial matters ought not to interfere with those of the political kind; each of them being sufficiently embarrassing without any other. This delay of hearing these petitions was supposed to be an absolute rejection of them in effect; and so indeed it proved to be, the committee to which they were consigned being humourously called the *committee of oblivion*. "War (says Dr. Andrews) was now the word; and notwithstanding no weightier reason could be given for not attending to what the petitioners had to say, than this very determination, yet that was the very motive that impelled ministers to refuse them a hearing, lest these should make it appear how unwise it was to precipitate the nation into such a measure."

But though there is not the least reason to doubt that administration were now fully determined upon a war, and therefore wished to be troubled with as few objections as possible, they were by no means deficient in arguments for the defence of their own conduct. They alleged that the petitions so much recommended to the attention of the house were principally the work of a factious party. The advantages accruing from the American trade were owing to the dependent situation of the colonies, who now aimed at a superiority over Great Britain, or at least at shaking off entirely the superiority which the mother-country had till now exercised over them without the smallest complaint. It was the advantage of the merchants themselves that was consulted by maintaining that superiority; and the merchants themselves would be the first to feel the bad consequences of its being lost. War and its consequences are no doubt very terrible, but sometimes are necessary, to prevent greater evils. The greatest evil

that can befall a trading nation is the loss of its commerce; and were the Americans to persist in their courses at that time for a few years longer, this consequence must inevitably ensue.

It was besides insisted, that though administration were to yield the present contest, the warmest advocates for America could not pretend to say what would be the last of its demands. The Americans aimed in reality at the repeal of whatever appeared obnoxious to their immediate interest: but that and their real interest differed very much. The greatest political evil that could befall them was to be deprived of the political and commercial support they received from Great Britain; and to this they must ultimately submit, if they should ever succeed in the pursuit of that delusive phantom of independence which they now accounted their happiest situation. In short, administration insisted, not without a great show of reason, that the Americans were not to be reclaimed by concessions. Mercantile people indeed might imagine so, from the facility with which concessions would be made, and the speed with which tranquillity would be restored. But tranquillity procured in this manner would last no longer than till the colonies, unfettered by any regulations, perceived, or imagined they perceived, the benefit of dealing with other countries, and carried their own commodities wherever they thought proper. This was the point at which they incontestably aimed, whatever they might pretend to the contrary; for, notwithstanding the boasts they made of the vast business transacted with Britain, it was well known to arise from the immense credit they were indulged with there, and which they could not expect elsewhere.

The honour and character of the nation were now also said to be at stake. The British had often taken up arms for matters of less consequence; why then should they now hesitate in a case like the present, where honour and interest both called upon them for the

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the most vigorous and speedy exertions? Formerly it was the custom of the merchants to second the wishes of ministry in this respect, instead of opposing them. The inconvenience of suspending their profits for a time must be submitted to, and their enemies would experience as many if not more of the same kind; and it would be unworthy of the character they had so long sustained to yield to indignities for the sake of profit. The losses above mentioned, however, would be but trifling in comparison of those that would follow in time to come, should Britain from want of spirit give up the assertion of her just rights. This was a policy hitherto unknown in Britain, which had heretofore been noted for the ardour and celerity with which they were maintained.

A conciliatory plan was now prepared by the Earl of Chatham, which was presented on the 1st of February 1775. The intent of his bill, he said, was to settle the troubles in America, and to assert at the same time the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over her colonies. This was to be done by their acknowledging on their part the supremacy of the British legislature and the superintending power of parliament. No taxes were to be levied in America but with the free consent of their assemblies. It asserted a right in the crown to keep and station a military force established by law in any part of its dominions; but declared, that it could not be legally employed to enforce implicit and *unlawful* submission. A congress might also be held, in order to recognize the supreme sovereignty of Great Britain over the colonies, and to settle, at the same time, an annual revenue upon the crown, disposeable by parliament, and applicable to the exigencies of the nation. On complying with these conditions, the acts complained of by congress were to be suspended, with every other measure pointed out as a grievance, and the constitution

tion of their governments to remain as settled by their charters. This bill was, however, deemed at once totally inadmissible, on account of its alleged partiality to America, by the various concessions it enacted, and particularly by empowering the colonies to assemble in congress; a measure which, of all others, was at that time the most offensive, and supposed to be the most injurious to the British interests.

Lord Chatham was by no means deficient in arguments in support of his favourite plan; but these, though supported by all the powers of eloquence, proved unsuccessful; the proposal was ultimately rejected by 61 to 32. So determined were the majority in giving this an entire rejection, that it was not even permitted to lie upon the table; which, however, may be considered as a piece of indignity offered to that great man, proceeding rather from the indifference with which he had been received at court for some time, than from any real and thorough conviction of the inutility of the plan he proposed.

In the mean time matters went on from bad to worse in New England; so that it was soon perceived either that the friends of government in that colony did not exert themselves, or that they were far from being so numerous as had been imagined. In order to make their coercive plan the more effectual, therefore, it was now judged necessary to extend it so that every individual of the colony should become sensible of the punishment. This, it was supposed, would be done by a bill for restraining the four provinces of New England from commerce with Great Britain, Ireland, or the British West-India islands; and prohibiting them from carrying on the fishery at Newfoundland. The reasons given for this were in substance the same with those for the others; and indeed both parties had now so much exhausted their arguments, that very little new matter was left for either. Every step taken by ministry, and every proposal made by them, however,

ever, produced a violent debate; and though they constantly gained the victory, it was not without the mortification of hearing their principles and conduct reprobated in the most opprobrious manner. In the present instance the bill was carried by 261 against 85; but a petition against it was quickly offered by the London merchants concerned in the American trade, setting forth the danger that would accrue to the fisheries of Great Britain from such a prohibition.

From the evidence brought in support of this petition it appeared, that ten years before the American fisheries had been in such a flourishing state, that the four provinces in New England alone employed near 46,000 ton of shipping and 6000 seamen; and that the produce of their fisheries in the foreign markets amounted in the year 1764 to upwards of 320,000*l*. Since that time they had greatly increased; and what rendered the fisheries particularly valuable was, that all the materials used in them, excepting only the timber for building the vessels, and the salt for curing the fish, were purchased in Britain, and the nett proceeds of the trade were also remitted thither. It appeared also, that it would not be practicable to transfer these fisheries to Halifax or Quebec, though ever so much encouragement were given to either of these places, as they had neither vessels nor people to man them, and would never be able to procure supplies of seamen from New England on account of the aversion of the inhabitants to the government of these two provinces.

Some other circumstances were likewise urged as strong reasons against this bill; particularly the commercial concerns of the city of London with New England (to which alone the colony stood indebted for near a million,) and the bad consequences of it to the people of Nantucket. This is a barren island, lying off the coast of New England, about 15 miles long, and three broad, containing about 6000 inhabitants,
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almost all quakers. The natural produce of this island, it was alleged, could not maintain 20 families ; but the industry of the inhabitants was such, that they kept 130 vessels constantly employed in the whale-fishery, which they carried on in the north seas, to the coasts of Africa and Brazil, and even as far as the Falkland islands and the shores of Terra Magellanica. These people, it was said, ought undoubtedly to have been exempted from the common calamity, were it only from the applause due to so much industry and resolution.

The instance of Nantucket was so strong, that administration, with all their obstinacy, were obliged to relax a little; and, of their own accord, afforded them the relief they had such just reason to expect. That the petition in the main might prove unsuccessful, however, another was presented by the inhabitants of Poole, the tenor of which was directly opposite to that of the city of London. In this it was set forth, that the restrictions proposed by the bill would not prove detrimental to the trade of England, which was fully able, with proper exertions, to supply the demands of foreign markets. The advantage of the Newfoundland fishery more than that of New England to this country was, that it bred a great number of hardy seamen peculiarly fit for the service of the navy, while the New England seamen were, by act of parliament, exempt from being pressed. It appeared also from the examination of witnesses taken in support of this petition, that the fishery from Britain to Newfoundland employed about 400 ships, amounting to 360,000 tons, and 2000 shallops carrying 20,000 tons and navigated by as many seamen. Each season produced 600,000 quintals of fish, and the returns at a moderate rate were valued at 500,000*l*.

This bill was debated with great animosity in the house of peers, and produced a remarkable protest, in which the measures of government were spoken of with
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great severity. "That government (said they) which attempts to preserve its authority by destroying the trade of its subjects, and by involving the innocent and guilty in a common ruin, if it acts from a choice of such means, confesses itself unworthy; if from inability to find any other, admits itself wholly incompetent to the end of its institution." They also reprobated in severe terms the assertion already mentioned, that the Americans wanted spirit to resist, and that Britain would find them an easy conquest. Such language was represented as altogether void of foundation, and the mere effect of party spirit and resentment. It was also the more imprudent and unadvised, as tending, in case of coercive measures, to slacken the care and solicitude with which they ought to be pursued, and to occasion remissness in those to whom they might be entrusted, from a persuasion that the enemy to be encountered was not to be feared and could easily be overcome.

The final resolution of reducing the colonies by force being now taken, it became necessary to make proper preparation for the purpose; and in this the conduct of administration was little less censured than in other respects. As the opinion, that the Americans were timid and incapable of becoming soldiers, prevailed greatly at that time, a force of 10,000 men was judged sufficient to reduce the province of New England to obedience. This was vehemently opposed by the minority. They insisted that the force was totally inadequate, and only calculated to produce expence to no purpose. The first impression, they very justly observed, ought to be decisive, if possible; and in order to render it so, it was necessary to send such a fleet and army as might ensure the confidence of the public, and be certainly capable of surmounting all obstacles. Many of the friends of administration were of the same sentiments in this respect; and the only reason assigned for acting otherwise was an hope that the Americans would,

would, upon more mature consideration, desist from their opposition.

That they might the more readily be induced to this submission, Lord North's conciliatory proposition was formed. By this it was enacted, that when the governor, council, and assembly, of any of the colonies, should propose to make a provision for the common defence, &c. and if such provision should be approved of by the king in parliament, the levying or imposing of taxes on that colony should then be forborne, those duties excepted which it might be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce; the nett produce of which should be carried to the account of the colony where it was raised. But this proposal, though highly extolled by the friends of administration, was no less reprobated by minority than the others had been. It was said to be insidious, and calculated for the purpose of raising a revenue, which was now said to be the object of ministers. There was no essential difference between the present and former modes of taxation. The colonies were as effectually taxed without their consent by requiring them to pay a stated sum, as by laying a number of duties upon them to the same amount. There was besides a capital deficiency in the proposal, *viz.* that no sum was specified; so that the Americans were left totally ignorant of what the demands of Britain might be. After a long debate, however, the question was carried in favour of administration by 274 to 88.

As the disturbances had originated in the province of Massachusetts bay, and there continued with the greatest violence, so this was the province where the first hostilities were formally commenced. In the beginning of February 1775, the congress met at Cambridge; and, as no friends to Britain could now find admittance to that assembly, the only consideration was, how to make speedy preparations for war. Expert-
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ness in military discipline was recommended in the strongest manner, and several military institutions were enacted; among which, that of the minute-men was one of the most remarkable. These were chosen from the most active and expert among the militia; and their business was to keep themselves in constant readiness at the call of their officers; from which perpetual vigilance they derived their title. It was now easily seen, that a slight occasion would bring on hostilities, which could not but be attended with the most violent and certain destruction to the vanquished party; for both were so much exasperated by a long course of reproaches and literary warfare, that they seemed to be filled with the utmost inveteracy against each other.

On the 26th of February, General Gage, having been informed that a number of field-pieces had been brought to Salem, dispatched a party to seize them. Their road was obstructed by a river, over which was a drawbridge. This the people had pulled up, and refused to let down: upon which the soldiers seized a boat to ferry them over; but the people cut out her bottom. Hostilities would immediately have commenced, had it not been for the interposition of a clergyman; who represented to the military, on the one hand, the folly of opposing such numbers; and to the people, on the other, that, as the day was far spent, the military could not execute their design, so that they might, without any fear, leave them the quiet possession of the drawbridge. This was complied with; and the soldiers, after having remained for some time at the bridge, returned without executing their orders.

The next attempt was attended with more serious consequences. General Gage having been informed that a large quantity of ammunition and military stores had been collected at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston, and where the provincial congress was

sitting, sent a detachment, under the command of Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, to destroy the stores, and, as was reported, to seize Messrs. Hancock and Adams, the leading men of the congress. They set out before day-break, on the 19th of April, marching with the utmost silence, and securing every one they met on the road, that they might not be discovered. But notwithstanding all their care, the continual ringing of bells and firing of guns as they went along soon gave them notice that the country was alarmed. About five in the morning they had reached Lexington, fifteen miles from Boston, where the militia of the place were exercising. An officer called out to them to disperse; but some shots, it is said, being at that moment fired from a house in the neighbourhood, the military made a discharge, which killed and wounded several of the militia. The detachment then proceeded to Concord, where, having destroyed the stores, they were encountered by the Americans; and a scuffle ensued, in which several fell on both sides. The purpose of their expedition being thus accomplished, it was necessary for the king's troops to retreat, which they did through a continual fire kept upon them from Concord to Lexington. Here their ammunition was expended; and they would have been unavoidably cut off, had not a considerable reinforcement, commanded by Lord Percy, luckily met them. The Americans, however, continued their attack with great fury; and the British would still have been in the utmost danger, had it not been for two field-pieces which Lord Percy had brought with him. By these the impetuosity of the Americans was checked, and the British made good their retreat to Boston, with the loss of two hundred and sixty-three killed and wounded; that of the Americans was eighty-eight.

By this engagement the spirits of the Americans were so raised, that they meditated nothing less than the total expulsion of the British troops from Boston.

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An army of twenty thousand men was assembled, who formed a line of encampment from Roxbury to Myf-tic, through a space of about thirty miles; and here they were soon after joined by a large body of Connecticut troops, under General Putnam, an old officer of great bravery and experience. By this formidable force was the town of Bolton now kept blocked up. General Gage, however, had so strongly fortified it, that the enemy, powerful as they were, durst not make an attack; while, on the other hand, his force was by far too insignificant to meet such an enemy in the field. But, towards the end of May, a considerable reinforcement having arrived from England, with Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, he prepared to act with more decision; while the Americans, on their part, did every thing to oppose him.

A considerable height, known by the name of *Bunker's-hill*, just at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown, was so situated as to make the possession of it a matter of great consequence to either of the contending parties. Orders were therefore, June 16, issued by the provincial commanders, that a detachment of one thousand men should entrench upon this height. By some mistake, *Breed's-hill*, high and large like the other, but situated nearer Boston, was marked out for the intrenchments, instead of Bunker's-hill. The provincials proceeded to Breed's-hill, and worked with so much diligence, that between midnight and the dawn of the morning, they had thrown up a small redoubt about eight rods square. They kept such a profound silence, that they were not heard by the British on-board their vessels, though very near. These, having derived their first information of what was going on from the sight of the work near completion, began an incessant firing upon them. The provincials bore this with firmness, and, though they were only young foldiers, continued to labour till they had

thrown up a small breastwork, extending from the east side of the breastwork to the bottom of the hill. As this eminence overlooked Boston, General Gage thought it necessary to drive the provincials from it. About noon, therefore, he detached Major-general Howe, and Brigadier-general Pigot, with the flower of the army, consisting of four battalions, ten companies of the grenadiers, and ten of light infantry, with a proportion of field artillery, to effect this business. These troops landed at Moreton's Point, and, June 17, formed after landing, but remained in that position till they were reinforced by a second detachment of light infantry and grenadier companies, a battalion of land forces, and a battalion of marines, making in the whole near three thousand men. While the troops who first landed were waiting for this reinforcement, the provincials, for their farther security, pulled up some adjoining post and rail fences, and set them down in two parallel lines at a small distance from each other, and filled the space between with hay, which, having been lately mowed, remained on the adjacent ground.

The king's troops formed in two lines, and advanced slowly, to give their artillery time to demolish the American works. While the British were advancing to the attack, they received orders to burn Charlestown. This was not done because they were fired upon from the houses in that town, but from the military policy of depriving enemies of a cover in their approaches. In a short time this ancient town, consisting of about five hundred buildings, chiefly of wood, was in one great blaze. The lofty steeple of the meeting-house formed a pyramid of fire above the rest, and struck the astonished eyes of numerous beholders with a magnificent but awful spectacle. In Boston the heights of every kind were covered with the citizens, and such of the king's troops as were not on duty. The hills around the adjacent country, which

which afforded a safe and distinct view, were occupied by the inhabitants of the country.

Thousands, both within and without Boston, were anxious spectators of the bloody scene. The honour of British troops beat high in the breasts of many, while others, with a keener sensibility, felt for the liberties of a great and growing country. The British moved on but slowly, which gave the provincials a better opportunity for taking aim. The latter, in general, reserved themselves till their adversaries were within ten or twelve rods, but then began a furious discharge of small arms. The stream of the American fire was so incessant, and did so great execution, that the king's troops retreated in disorder and precipitation. Their officers rallied them, and pushed them forward with their swords, but they returned to the attack with great reluctance. The Americans again reserved their fire till their adversaries were near, and then put them a second time to flight. General Howe and the officers redoubled their exertions, and were at last successful, though the soldiers discovered a great aversion to going on. By this time the powder of the Americans began to fail. The British also brought some cannon to bear, which raked the inside of the breastwork from end to end: the fire from the ships, batteries, and field artillery, was redoubled. The redoubt was attacked on three sides at once. Under these circumstances a retreat from it was ordered, but the provincials delayed, and made resistance with their discharged muskets as if they had been clubs, so long, that the king's troops, who easily mounted the works, had half filled the redoubt before it was given up to them.

While these operations were going on at the breastwork and redoubt, the British light infantry were attempting to force the left point of the former, that they might take the American line in flank. Though they exhibited the most undaunted courage, they met with
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an opposition which called for its greatest exertions. The provincials here, in like manner, reserved their fire till their adversaries were near, and then poured it upon the light infantry, in so true a direction, as mowed down their ranks. The engagement was kept up on both sides with great resolution. The persevering exertions of the king's troops could not compel the Americans to retreat, till they observed that their main body had left the hill. This, when begun, exposed them to new danger, for it could not be effected but by marching over Charlestown Neck, every part of which was raked by the shot of the Glasgow man of war, and two floating batteries. The incessant fire kept up across this neck prevented any considerable reinforcement from joining their countrymen who were engaged; but the few who fell on their retreat over the same ground proved, that the apprehensions of those provincial officers, who declined passing over to succour their companions, were without any solid foundation.

The number of Americans engaged amounted only to one thousand five hundred. It was apprehended that the conquerors would push the advantages they had gained, and march immediately to American head-quarters at Cambridge, but they advanced no farther than Bunker's-hill; there they threw up works for their own security. The provincials did the same on Prospect-hill in front of them. Both were guarding against an attack, and both were in a bad condition to receive one. The loss of the peninsula depressed the spirits of the Americans, and their great loss of men produced the same effect on the British. There have been few battles in modern wars, in which, all circumstances considered, there was a greater destruction of men than in this short engagement. The loss of the British, as acknowledged by General Gage, amounted to one thousand and fifty-four. Nineteen commissioned officers were killed, and seventy more
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were wounded. The battle of Quebec in 1759, which gave Great Britain the province of Canada, was not so destructive to British officers as this affair of a slight entrenchment, the work only of a few hours. That the officers suffered so much, must be imputed to their being aimed at. None of the provincials in this engagement were riflemen, but they were all good marksmen. The whole of their previous military knowledge had been derived from hunting, and the ordinary amusements of sportsmen. The dexterity which by long habit they had acquired in hitting beasts, birds, and marks, was fatally applied to the destruction of British officers. From their fall much confusion was expected; they were therefore particularly singled out. Most of those who were near the person of General Howe were either killed or wounded, but the general, though he greatly exposed himself, remained unhurt. The light infantry and grenadiers lost three-fourths of their men. Of one company not more than five, and of another not more than fourteen, escaped. The unexpected resistance of the Americans was such as wiped away the reproaches of cowardice, which had been cast on them by their enemies in Britain. The spirited conduct of the British officers merited and obtained great applause; but the provincials were justly entitled to a large portion of the same, for having made the utmost exertions of their adversaries necessary to dislodge them from lines, which were the work only of a single night. The Americans lost five pieces of cannon. Their killed amounted to one hundred and thirty-nine. The wounded and missing to three hundred and fourteen. Thirty of the former fell into the hands of the conquerors. They particularly regretted the death of General Warren.

This action of Breed's-hill, or Bunker's-hill, as it has been commonly called, produced many and very important consequences. The same determined spirit of resistance now every where appeared on the part
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of the Americans. The commencement of hostilities at Lexington determined the colony of New York, which had hitherto continued to waver, to unite with the rest; and, as the situation of New York renders it unable to resist an attack from the sea, it was resolved, before the arrival of a British fleet, to secure the military stores, send off the women and children, and to set fire to the city if it was still found incapable of defence. The exportation of provisions was every where prohibited, particularly to the British fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or to such colonies of America as should adhere to the British interest. Congress resolved on the establishment of an army, and of a large paper currency in order to support it. In the inland northern colonies, Colonels Easton and Ethan Allen, without receiving any orders from congress, or communicating their design to any body, with a party of only two hundred and fifty men, surprised the forts of Crown Point, Ticonderago, and the rest that form a communication betwixt the colonies and Canada. On this occasion two hundred pieces of cannon fell into their hands, besides mortars and a large quantity of military stores, together with two armed vessels, and materials for the construction of others.

After the battle of Bunker's-hill, the provincials erected fortifications on the heights which commanded Charlestown, and strengthened the rest in such a manner that there was no hope of driving them from thence; at the same time that their activity and boldness astonished their adversaries, who had been accustomed to entertain too mean an opinion of their courage.

The British troops, thus shut up in Boston, were soon reduced to distress. Their necessities obliged them to attempt the carrying off the American cattle on the islands before Boston, which produced frequent skirmishes; but the provincials, better acquainted with the navigation of these shores, landed on the islands, destroyed

destroyed or carried off whatever was of any use, burned the light-house at the entrance of the harbour, and took prisoners the workmen sent to repair it, as well as a party of marines who guarded them. Thus the garrison was reduced to the necessity of sending out armed vessels to make prizes indiscriminately of all that came in their way, and of landing in different places to plunder for subsistence as well as they could.

The congress in the mean time continued to act with all the vigour which its constituents had expected. Articles of confederation and perpetual union were drawn up and solemnly agreed upon; and they proceeded formally to justify their conduct, in a declaration drawn up in terms remarkably expressive, and well calculated to excite attention.

“ Were it possible,” said they, “ for men who exercise their reason, to believe that the divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in and unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom as the objects of a legal domination, never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive; the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the parliament of Great Britain some evidence that this dreadful authority over them had been granted to that body; but a reverence for our Great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end.

“ The legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for power, not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and despairing of success in any mode of contest where regard should be had to law, truth, or right; have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel

and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to flight justice in the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations to the rest of the world to make known the justice of our cause."

After taking notice of the manner in which their ancestors left Britain, the happiness attending the mutual friendly commerce betwixt that country and her colonies, and the remarkable success of the late war, they proceed as follows: "The new ministry, finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

"These devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour from the beginning of their colonization; their dutiful, zealous, and useful, services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honourable manner by his majesty, by the late king, and by parliament, could not save them from the intended innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project; and, assuming a new power over them, has in the course of eleven years given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt of the effects of acquiescence under it.

"They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property. Statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of
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the accustomed and inestimable right of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of our colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, secured by acts of its own legislature, and solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the murderers of colonists from legal trials, and in effect from punishment; for erecting in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of a profound peace. It has also been resolved in parliament, that colonists charged with committing certain offences shall be transported to England to be tried.

“ But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it was declared, that parliament can of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatever. What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited, a power? Not a single person who assumes it is chosen by us, or is subject to our controul or influence; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws; and the American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as it increases ours.

“ We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament in the most mild and decent language; but administration, sensible that we should regard these measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them.

“ We have pursued every temperate, every respectful, measure; we have even proceeded to break off all commercial intercourse with our fellow-subjects as our last peaceable admonition, that our attachment

to no nation on earth would supplant our attachment to liberty: this we flattered ourselves was the ultimate step of the controversy; but subsequent events have shewn how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies!

“ The lords and commons, in their address in the month of February, said, that a rebellion at that time actually existed in the province of Massachusetts-bay; and that those concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements entered into by his majesty’s subjects in several of the colonies; and therefore they besought his majesty that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature. Soon after, the commercial intercourse of whole colonies with foreign countries was cut off by an act of parliament; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their subsistence; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

“ Fruitless were all the intreaties, arguments, and eloquence, of an illustrious band of the most distinguished peers and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay, or even to mitigate, the heedless fury with which these accumulated outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and of many other respectable towns, in our favour.”

After having reproached parliament, General Gage, and the British government in general, they proceeded thus: “ We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to tyranny, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received

received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. Our cause is just; our union is perfect; our internal resources are great; and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We fight not for glory or conquest; we exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of people attacked by unprovoked enemies. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death. In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, for the protection of our property acquired by the honest industry of our forefathers and our own, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms; we shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of our aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, —and not before.”

These are some of the most striking passages in the declaration of congress on taking up arms against Great Britain, dated July 6, 1775. Without enquiring whether the principles on which it is founded are right or wrong, the determined spirit which it shews ought to have convinced us, that the conquest of America was an event scarcely ever to be expected. In every other respect an equal spirit was shewn; and the rulers of the British nation had the mortification to see those whom they styled *rebels* and *traitors* succeed in negotiations in which they themselves were utterly foiled. In the passing of the Quebec-bill, ministry had flattered themselves that the Canadians would be so much attached to them on account of restoring the French laws, that they would very readily join in any attempt against the colonists who had reprobated that bill in such strong terms; but in this they found themselves deceived. A scheme had been formed for General Carleton, governor of the province, to raise an army of Canadians wherewith to act against the Americans: and, so sanguine were the hopes of administration

tion in this respect, that they had sent twenty thousand stand of arms, and a great quantity of military stores, to Quebec for the purpose. But the people, though they did not join the Americans, yet were found immoveable in their purpose to stand neuter. The British administration next tried to engage the Indians in their cause. But, though agents were dispersed among them with large presents to the chiefs, the greatest part replied, that they did not understand the nature of the quarrel, nor could they distinguish whether those who dwelt in America or on the other side of the ocean were in fault; but that they were surprised to see Englishmen ask their assistance against one another; and advised them to be reconciled, and not to think of shedding the blood of their brethren. To the representations of congress they paid more respect. These set forth, that the English on the other side of the ocean had taken up arms to enslave not only their countrymen in America, but the Indians also; and, if the latter should enable them to overcome the colonists, they themselves would soon be reduced to a state of slavery also. By arguments of this kind most of the savages were engaged to remain neuter; and thus the colonists were freed from a dangerous enemy. On this occasion the congress thought proper to hold a solemn conference with the different tribes of Indians. The speech made by them on the occasion is curious, but too long to be fully inserted. The following is a specimen of the European mode of addressing these people:

“ Brothers, sachems, and warriors! We, the delegates from the Twelve United Provinces, now sitting in general congress at Philadelphia, send their talk to you our brothers.

“ Brothers and friends, now attend! When our fathers crossed the great water, and came over to this land, the King of England gave them a talk, assuring them that they and their children should be his children;

dren; and that if they would leave their native country, and make settlements, and live here, and buy and sell, and trade with their brethren beyond the water, they should still keep hold of the same covenant-chain, and enjoy peace; and it was covenanted, that the fields, houses, goods, and possessions, which our fathers should acquire, should remain to them as their own, and be their children's for ever, and at their sole disposal.

“Brothers and friends, open a kind ear! We will now tell you of the quarrel betwixt the counsellors of King George and the inhabitants and colonies of America.

“Many of his counsellors have persuaded him to break the covenant-chain, and not to send us any more good talks. They have prevailed upon him to enter into a covenant against us; and have torn asunder, and cast behind their back, the good old covenant which their ancestors and ours entered into, and took strong hold of. They now tell us they will put their hands into our pocket without asking, as though it were their own; and at their pleasure they will take from us our charters, or written civil constitution, which we love as our lives; also our plantations, our houses, and goods, whenever they please, without asking our leave. They tell us, that our vessels may go to that or this island in the sea, but to this or that particular island we shall not trade any more; and, in case of our non-compliance with these new orders, they shut up our harbours.

“Brothers, we live on the same ground with you; the same island is our common birth-place. We desire to sit down under the same tree of peace with you; let us water its roots, and cherish the growth, till the large leaves and flourishing branches shall extend to the setting sun, and reach the skies. If any thing disagreeable should ever fall out between us, the Twelve United Colonies, and you, the Six Nations, to wound
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our peace, let us immediately seek measures for healing the breach. From the present situation of our affairs, we judge it expedient to kindle up a small fire at Albany, where we may hear each other's voice, and disclose our minds fully to one another."

The other remarkable transactions of this congress were the ultimate refusal of the conciliatory proposal made by Lord North, of which such sanguine expectations had been formed by the English ministry; and appointing a generalissimo to command their armies, which were now very numerous. The person chosen for this purpose was General Washington; a man so universally beloved, that he was raised to such an high station by the unanimous voice of congress: and his subsequent conduct shewed him every way worthy of it. Horace Gates and Charles Lee, two English officers of considerable reputation, were also chosen; the former an adjutant-general, the second a major-general. Artemus Ward, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putman, were likewise nominated major-generals. Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Green, were chosen brigadier-generals at the same time.

The success which had hitherto attended the Americans in all their measures, now emboldened them to think not only of defending themselves, but likewise of acting offensively against Great Britain. The conquest of Canada appeared an object within their reach, and one that would be attended with many advantages; and, as an invasion of that province was already facilitated by the taking of Crown Point and Ticonderago, it was resolved if possible to penetrate that way into Canada, and reduce Quebec during the winter, before the fleets and armies, which they were well assured would sail thither from Britain, should arrive. By order of congress, therefore, three thousand men were put under the command of Generals Montgomery and Schuyler,

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J. Chapman sc.

GENERAL WASHINGTON.

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Schuyler, with orders to proceed to lake Champlain, from whence they were to be conveyed in flat-bottomed boats to the mouth of the river Sorel, a branch of the great river St. Lawrence, and on which is situated a fort of the same name with the river. On the other hand, they were opposed by General Carleton, governor of Canada; an officer of great activity and experience in war: who, with a very few troops, had hitherto been able to keep in awe the disaffected people of Canada, notwithstanding all the representations of the colonists. He had now augmented his army by a considerable number of Indians, and promised even in his present situation to make a formidable resistance.

As soon as General Montgomery arrived at Crown Point, he received information that several armed vessels were stationed at St. John's, a strong fort on the Sorel, with a view to prevent his crossing the lake; on which he took possession of an island that commands the mouth of the Sorel, and by which he could prevent them from entering the lake. In conjunction with General Schuyler, he next proceeded to St. John's; but, finding that place too strong, he landed on a part of the country considerably distant, and full of woods and swamps. From thence, however, they were driven by a party of Indians whom General Carleton had employed.

The provincial army was now obliged to retreat to the island, of which they at first took possession; where General Schuyler being taken ill, Montgomery was left to command alone. His first step was to gain over the Indians whom General Carleton had employed, and this he in a great measure accomplished; after which he determined to lay siege to St. John's. In this he was facilitated by the reduction of Chamblee, a small fort in the neighbourhood, where he found a large supply of powder. An attempt was made by General Carleton to relieve the place; for which purpose he, with great pains, collected about a thousand

Canadians, while Colonel Maclean proposed to raise a regiment of the Highlanders who had emigrated from their own country to America. But while General Carleton was on his march with these new levies, he was attacked by a superior force of provincials, and utterly defeated; which being made known to another body of Canadians who had joined Colonel Maclean, they abandoned him without striking a blow, and he was obliged to retreat to Quebec.

The defeat of General Carleton was a sufficient recompence to the Americans for that of Colonel Ethan Allen which had happened a little before. The success which had attended this gentleman against Crown Point and Ticonderago had emboldened him to make a similar attempt on Montreal; but, being attacked by the militia of the place, supported by a detachment of regulars, he was entirely defeated, and taken prisoner.

General Carleton's defeat, and the desertion of Maclean's forces, induced the garrison of St. John's to surrender themselves prisoners of war; and they were treated with great humanity. They were in number five hundred regulars and two hundred Canadians, among whom were many French nobles. General Montgomery next took measures to prevent the British shipping from passing down the river from Montreal to Quebec. This he accomplished so effectually, that the whole were taken. The town itself was obliged to surrender at discretion: and it was with the utmost difficulty that General Carleton escaped in an open boat by the favour of a dark night.

No obstacle now remained to prevent the Americans from making their way to the capital, except what arose from the nature of the country; and these were very considerable. Nothing, however, could damp the ardour of the provincials. Notwithstanding it was now the middle of November, and the depth of winter was at hand, Colonel Arnold formed a design of penetrating through woods, morasses, and the most
frightful

frightful solitudes, from New England to Canada, by a nearer way than that which Montgomery had chosen; and this he accomplished in spite of every difficulty, to the astonishment of all who saw or heard of the attempt. This desperate march, however, cannot be looked upon as conducive to any good purpose. A third part of his men under another colonel had abandoned him by the way, under pretence of want of provisions; the total want of artillery rendered his presence insignificant before a place strongly fortified; and the smallness of his army rendered it even doubtful whether he could have taken the town by surprise. The Canadians indeed were amazed at the exploit, and their inclination to revolt from Britain was somewhat augmented; but none of them as yet took up arms in behalf of America. The consternation into which the town of Quebec was thrown, proved detrimental rather than otherwise to the expedition, as it doubled the vigilance and activity of the inhabitants to prevent any surprise; and the appearance of common danger united all parties, who, before the arrival of Arnold, were contending most violently with one another. He was therefore obliged to content himself with blocking up the avenues to the town, in order to distress the garrison for want of provisions; and even this he was unable to do effectually, by reason of the small number of his men. The matter was not much mended by the arrival of General Montgomery. The force he had with him, even when united to that of Arnold, was too insignificant to attempt the reduction of a place so strongly fortified, especially with the assistance only of a few mortars and field-pieces.

After the siege had continued through the month of December, General Montgomery, conscious that he could accomplish his end no other way than by surprise, resolved to make an attempt on the last day of the year 1775. The method he took at this time was perhaps the best that human wisdom could devise. He

advanced by break of day, in the midst of an heavy fall of snow, which covered his men from the sight of the enemy. Two real attacks were made by himself and Colonel Arnold at the same time that two feigned attacks were made on two other places, thus to distract the garrison, and make them divide their forces. One of the real attacks was made by the people of New York, and the other by those of New England under Arnold. Their hopes of surprising the place, however, were defeated by the signal for the attack being, through some mistake, given too soon. General Montgomery himself had the most dangerous place, being obliged to pass between the river and some high rocks on which the Upper Town stands; so that he was forced to make what haste he could to close with the enemy. His fate, however, was now decided. Having forced the first barrier, a violent discharge of musquetry and grape-shot from the second killed him, his principal officers, and the most of the party he commanded; on which those who remained immediately retreated. Arnold's party, about seven hundred in number, were for some time more successful. In less than an hour they forced the first and second barriers of that quarter against which their attack was directed. Arnold's leg being shattered by a musket-ball very early in the engagement, he was carried off to the camp; but his place was well supplied by the skilful exertions of the other officers, and the resolution of the men, who, knowing nothing of Montgomery's misfortune, pushed on with unabated ardour, and were actually applying ladders to the third barrier, when they received a sudden and irrecoverable check. The main force of the garrison, now relieved from other objects, was turned against this bold party of assailants; and, whilst they were already fully occupied in front, a large detachment with several field-pieces poured upon their rear, and compelled them, after an obstinate resistance for three hours, to lay down their arms.

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The prisoners were treated with the greatest humanity by the governor, whose skill and courage during the whole conflict merited every eulogium. The shattered remains of the besiegers, who were reduced to about seven hundred, immediately quitted their camp, and retired three miles farther from the city, where they strengthened their quarters in the best manner they were able, being apprehensive of a pursuit from the garrison. The latter, however, though the action made them greatly superior in number, were unfit for a service of that nature; and their able governor, with a degree of wisdom and sobriety equal to his intrepidity and firmness, contented himself with the advantage and security he had gained, without hazarding the fate of the province in any rash adventure.

Such was the issue of this enterprize against Quebec, planned by the congress, and of the success of which they had formed the most sanguine expectations. Their mortification at its failure was particularly aggravated by the loss of Montgomery, whom they looked upon as second only to Washington in military genius. This brave but unfortunate officer was a native of Ireland, and had served with great applause in the late war. The excellency of his qualities and disposition had procured him an uncommon share of private affection, as his abilities had of public esteem. Having married a lady and purchased an estate in New York, he was from thence induced to consider himself as an American, and to devote his talents to the service of the congress, who gave him the rank of brigadier-general. His conduct in the expedition to Canada was equally spirited and judicious; and his heroism in the last scene shone forth with increasing lustre. His body being found the day after the attack, was interred with all military and funeral honours by General Carleton, who had the magnanimity to esteem and acknowledge such eminent merit even in an enemy.

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While hostilities were thus carried on with vigour in the north, the flame of contention was gradually extending itself in the south. Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, was involved in disputes similar to those which had taken place in other colonies. These had proceeded so far, that the assembly was dissolved; which in this province was attended with a consequence unknown to the rest. As Virginia contained a great number of slaves, it was necessary that a militia should be constantly embodied to keep them in awe. During the dissolution of the assembly the militia laws expired; and the people, after complaining of the danger they were in from the negroes, formed a convention, which enacted that each county shall raise a quota for the defence of the province. Dunmore, on this, removed the powder from Williamsburg; which created such discontents, that an immediate quarrel would probably have ensued, had not the merchants of the town undertaken to obtain satisfaction for the injury supposed to be done to the community. This tranquillity, however, was soon interrupted: the people, alarmed by a report that an armed party were on their way from the man of war where the powder had been deposited, assembled in arms, and determined to oppose by force any farther removals. In some of the conferences which passed at this time, the governor let fall some unguarded expressions, such as threatening them with setting up the royal standard, proclaiming liberty to the negroes, destroying the town of Williamsburg, &c. which were afterwards made public, and exaggerated in such a manner as greatly to increase the public ferment.

In this state of confusion the governor thought it necessary to fortify his palace with artillery, and procure a party of marines to guard it. Lord North's conciliatory proposal arriving also about the same time, he used his utmost endeavours to cause the people to comply with it. The arguments he used were such
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as must do him honour; and, had not matters already gone to such a pitch of distraction, it is highly probable that some attention would have been paid to them: "The view (he said) in which the colonies ought to behold this conciliatory proposal, was no more than an earnest admonition from Great Britain to relieve her wants; that the utmost condescension had been used in the mode of application; no determinate sum having been fixed, as it was thought more worthy of British generosity to take what they thought could be conveniently spared, and likewise to leave the mode of raising it to themselves, &c." But the clamour and dissatisfaction were now so universal, that nothing else could be attended to. The governor had called an assembly for the purpose of laying this conciliatory proposal before them; but it had been little attended to. The assembly began their session by enquiries into the state of the magazine. It had been broken into by some of the townsmen; for which reason spring-guns had been placed there by the governor, which discharged themselves upon the offenders at their entrance: these circumstances, with others of a similar kind, raised such a violent uproar, that, as soon as the preliminary business of the session was over, the governor retired on-board the *Fowey* man-of-war, informing the assembly that he durst no longer trust himself on-shore. This produced a long course of disputation, which ended in a positive refusal of the governor to trust himself again in Williamsburg, even to give his assent to the bills, which could not be passed without it, though the assembly offered to bind themselves for his personal safety. In his turn he requested them to meet him on-board the man of war where he then was; but this proposal was rejected, and all further correspondence containing the least appearance of friendship was discontinued.

Lord Dunmore, thus deprived of his government, attempted to reduce by force those whom he could no longer

longer govern. Some of the most strenuous adherents to the British cause, whom their zeal had rendered obnoxious at home, now repaired to him. He was also joined by numbers of black slaves. With these, and the assistance of the British shipping, he was for some time enabled to carry on a kind of predatory war, sufficient to hurt and exasperate, but not to subdue. After some inconsiderable attempts on land, proclaiming liberty to the slaves, and setting up the royal standard, he took up his residence at Norfolk, a maritime town of some consequence, where the people were better affected to Britain than in most other places. A considerable force, however, was collected against him; and, the natural impetuosity of his temper prompting him to act against them with more courage than caution, he was entirely defeated, and obliged to retire to his shipping, which was now crowded by the number of those who had incurred the resentment of the provincials.

In the mean time a scheme of the utmost magnitude and importance was formed by one Mr. Conolly, a Pennsylvanian, of an intrepid and aspiring disposition, and attached to the cause of Britain. The first step of this plan was to enter into a league with the Ohio Indians. This he communicated to Lord Dunmore, and it received his approbation; upon which Conolly set out, and actually succeeded in his design. On his return, he was dispatched to General Gage, from whom he received a colonel's commission, and set out in order to accomplish the remainder of his scheme. The plan in general was, that he should return to the Ohio, where, by the assistance of the British and Indians in these parts, he was to penetrate through the back settlements into Virginia, and join Lord Dunmore at Alexandria; but by an accident very naturally to be expected, he was discovered, taken prisoner, and thrown into a dungeon.

After the retreat of Lord Dunmore from Norfolk, that place was taken possession of by the provincials, who

who treated the royalists that had remained there with great cruelty; at the same time that they greatly distressed those on-board Lord Dunmore's fleet by refusing to supply them with any necessaries. Nor was this all: the vicinity of the shipping was so great, as to afford the riflemen an opportunity of aiming at the people on-board, and exercising the cruel occupation of killing them, in which they did not fail every day to employ themselves. These proceedings at last drew a remonstrance from his lordship; in which he insisted, that the fleet should be furnished with necessaries, and that the soldiers should desist from the cruel diversion above-mentioned; but, both these requests being denied, a resolution was taken to set fire to the town. After giving the inhabitants a proper warning, a party landed, under cover of a man of war, and set fire to that part which lay nearest the shore; but the flames were observed at the same time, to break forth in every other quarter, and the whole town was reduced to ashes. This universal destruction, by which a loss of more than 300,000*l.* was incurred, is said to have been occasioned by order of the congress itself, that the royalists might find no refuge there for the future.

In the southern colonies of Carolina, the governors were expelled, and obliged to take refuge on-board the men of war, as Lord Dunmore had been: among others, Mr. Martin, governor of North Carolina, was expelled, on a charge of attempting to raise the back settlers, consisting chiefly of Scots Highlanders, against the colony. Having secured themselves against any attempts from these enemies, they proceeded to regulate their internal concerns in the same manner as the rest of the colonies; and, by the end of the year 1775, Britain beheld the whole of America united against her in the most determined opposition. Her vast possessions of that tract of land, since known by the name of the Thirteen United States, were now reduced to the single town of Boston; in which her forces were be-

sieged by an enemy with whom they were apparently not able to cope, and by whom they must of course expect in a very short time to be expelled. The situation of the inhabitants of Boston, indeed, was peculiarly unhappy. After having failed in their attempts to leave the town, General Gage had consented to allow them to retire with their effects; but afterwards, for what reason does not well appear, he refused to fulfil his promise. When he resigned his place to General Howe, in October 1775, the latter, apprehensive that they might give intelligence of the situation of the British troops, strictly prohibited every person from leaving the place, under pain of military execution. Thus matters continued till the month of March, 1776, when the town was evacuated.

On the second of that month, General Washington opened a battery on the west side of the town, from whence it was bombarded with a heavy fire of cannon at the same time; and three days after it was attacked by another battery from the eastern shore. This terrible attack continued for fourteen days without intermission; when General Howe, finding the place no longer tenable, determined if possible to drive the enemy from their works. Preparations were therefore made for a most vigorous attack on a hill called Dorchester Neck, which the Americans had fortified in such a manner as would in all probability have rendered the enterprize next to desperate. No difficulties, however, were sufficient to daunt the spirit of the general; and every thing was in readiness, when a sudden storm prevented this intended exertion of British valour. Next day, upon a more close inspection of the works they were to attack, it was thought advisable to desist from the enterprize altogether. The fortifications were very strong, and extremely well provided with artillery: and, besides other implements of destruction, upwards of one hundred hogheads of stones were provided to roll down upon the enemy as they

they came up; which, as the ascent was extremely steep, must have done prodigious execution.

Nothing, therefore, now remained, but to think of a retreat; and even this was attended with the utmost difficulty and danger. The Americans, knowing that it was in the power of the British general to reduce the town to ashes, which could not have been repaired in many years, did not think proper to give the least molestation; and, for the space of a fortnight, the troops were employed in the evacuation of the place, from whence they carried along with them two thousand of the inhabitants, who durst not stay on account of their attachment to the British cause. From Boston they sailed to Halifax; but all their vigilance could not prevent a number of valuable ships from falling into the hands of the enemy. A considerable quantity of cannon and ammunition had also been left at Bunker's-hill and Boston Neck; and, in the town, an immense variety of goods, principally woollen and linen, of which the provincials stood very much in need. The estates of those who fled to Halifax were confiscated; as also those who were attached to government, and had remained in the town. As an attack was expected as soon as the British forces should arrive, every method was employed to render the fortifications, already very strong, impregnable. For this purpose some foreign engineers were employed, who had before arrived at Boston; and so eager were people of all ranks to accomplish this business, that every able-bodied man in the place, without distinction of rank, set apart two days in the week to complete it the sooner.

During these proceedings on the other side of the Atlantic, no little agitation prevailed in the mother country. The public opinion began to be very much divided on the expediency and final effects of coercive measures, against which a loud clamour was raised not only by the friends of the opposition, but by several

mercantile bodies, whose private interests are not easily reconciled with the justice or necessity of *any* war. The city of London in particular, impelled by faction as well as by apprehensions of a decline of trade, had, in the latter end of February, petitioned parliament against the bills relating to America; and in the beginning of April presented a remonstrance to the throne on the same subject, which being chiefly drawn up by the suggestions of Mr. Wilkes, then lord mayor, surpassed all the former remonstrances, however disrespectful, in the insolence of the language, and the tendency of the sentiments it conveyed. The king, in his answer, expressed the utmost astonishment to find any of his subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which existed in the colonies. In a few days after, Mr. Wilkes received a letter from the lord chamberlain, acquainting him, as chief magistrate of the city of London, that his majesty would not, in future, receive on the throne any address, remonstrance, or petition, of the lord mayor and aldermen, but in their corporate capacity. Mr. Wilkes laid this letter, as well as his majesty's answer to the remonstrance, before the midsummer meeting of the citizens for the election of their annual officers; and several resolutions were then proposed and agreed to, in one of which it was declared, that the advisers of such a message were enemies to the right of the subject to petition the throne; and that the advice was calculated to intercept the complaints of the people to their sovereign, to prevent a redress of grievances, and alienate the minds of Englishmen from the Hanoverian succession. Another remonstrance was also concurred in, equaling the late one in its most obnoxious parts, and desiring his majesty to consider, "what the situation of his people here must be, who had nothing now to expect from America, but gazettes of blood, and mutual lists of their slaughtered fellow-subjects." It was farther resolved, "that this address should not be presented, unless

unless it was received sitting on the throne;" but the king, by whose order the sheriffs were informed that it was his majesty's pleasure to receive it at the levee, being told of the resolution of the common-hall, replied, "I am ready to receive addresses and petitions; but I am the judge where."

It had been represented as very probable, during the last session of parliament, that the bill for depriving the people of New England of the benefits of the Newfoundland fisheries, would redound greatly to the interest of Great Britain, by throwing into her hands alone the profits which were formerly divided with the colonies. This expectation, however, proved totally void of foundation. The number of ships fitted out that year was scarcely greater than usual. The congress had also prohibited them from being supplied with provisions; so that not only those on-board the ships, but even the inhabitants on the island of Newfoundland itself, were in danger of perishing. Many of the ships were therefore obliged to go in quest of provisions, instead of prosecuting the business on which they came. On the whole, therefore, instead of any increase, the profits of the fishery suffered this year a diminution of near 500,000*l*. Along with this, some natural causes co-operated, which, by the more superstitious, were considered as the effects of divine wrath. A most violent and uncommon storm took place in these latitudes during the fishing season. The sea rose full thirty feet above its ordinary level; and that with such rapidity; that no time was allowed for avoiding its fury. Upwards of seven hundred fishing boats perished, with all the people in them; and some ships foundered, with their whole crews. Nor was the devastation much less on shore, as the waters broke in upon the land, occasioning vast loss and destruction.

As the recruiting service in England proved very unfavourable, a treaty was entered into with the Landgraviate of Hesse Cassel and the Duke of Brunswick,
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for a body of troops to be furnished from their dominions for service in America, and several regiments from Hanover were sent to garrison Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, whilst the British troops which had been employed in those places were sent to America. The yearly expence of maintaining these troops was computed at a million and a half. The house of commons voted twenty-eight thousand seamen, including six thousand six hundred and sixty-five marines, for the service of the year 1776, and fifty-five thousand men for the land service. The Duke of Grafton, under whose administration the contention with America was renewed, resigned the privy seal, which was committed to the Earl of Dartmouth; Lord George Germaine was appointed to the American department in the room of the Earl of Dartmouth, and Lord Weymouth became secretary of state for the southern department. The land-tax was raised to four shillings in the pound, and not long after the commencement of the session, a bill passed both houses, totally prohibiting all trade with the Americans. It also enabled the crown to appoint commissioners, who should be enabled to grant pardons to individuals, and to cause the restrictions in the bill to be taken off from any town or district that should return to its obedience. In the debates produced by the taking foreign troops into British pay, it was observed, that neither the glorious campaign of 1704, which saved the German empire, and broke and ruined that military force which had been for half a century the scourge and terror of Europe, nor that of 1760, which gave us the vast continent of North America, had in any degree equalled the expence of the campaign of Boston in 1775. It was proved by various calculations, that the maintenance of those troops, disgraced and half-starved as they were, had not cost the nation much less than a hundred pounds a man in a period short of a year.

Fifty thousand effective men were now to be employed in America, a force superior to any which had ever

ever acted in the new world. A large body of these troops was in Canada under General Carleton; General Howe with the main army was to attack New York, and General Clinton at the head of another body was to make an attempt on South Carolina; a fleet of ships under Sir Peter Parker transported the latter army. In the opinion of the ministry and the majority of both houses, no alternative seemed to be left between absolute conquest and unconditional submission.

Early in the year 1776, a squadron of five frigates were sent out by congress, under the command of one Hopkins, who proceeded to the Bahama islands, and attacking Providence, which is the most considerable, they plundered it of artillery and naval stores; but the powder on the island had been conveyed away. The governor was made prisoner, and in the return of those ships they took many prizes. The Glasgow frigate and a tender in her company were met by them; the former escaped after a sharp engagement, but the latter was taken.

Sir Peter Parker's squadron consisted of the Bristol and Experiment, of fifty guns each; the Active, Solebay, Acteon, and Syren, frigates, of twenty-eight guns each; the Sphynx of twenty, an hired armed ship of twenty-two, a small sloop of war, an armed schooner, and the Thunder bomb-ketch. These ships, with the land forces on-board, sailed from Boston. The two large ships passed over the bar which runs across the harbour of Charlestown with great difficulty the beginning of June: a fort which commands the passage to Charlestown, which city lies six miles farther to the westward, was first to be attacked; for which purpose the troops were landed at Long island, which lies more to the eastward of Sullivan's, from which it is separated only by some shoals which are passable at low-water. Some American troops were entrenched on the opposite side of this narrow, and General Lee was at the head of a considerable body
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of troops on the continent. Such impediments occurred to beginning the operations, that the fort was not attacked until the end of the month, when the intense heat of the weather rendered the service uncommonly severe.

About eleven o'clock on the 28th of June, the Thunder-bomb began the attack by throwing shells at the fort; the Bristol, Experiment, Active, and Solebay, brought up directly against the fort, and began a furious cannonading. The Acteon, by the unskilfulness of the pilot, ran ashore; and, it being found impossible to get her off, she was set on fire and entirely consumed. Meanwhile the fort was defended with such undaunted bravery as the tremendous thunder from the ships could not appal. Its fire was so steady and well directed, that a dreadful slaughter was made of the crews, and the ships were miserably shattered. Never did British valour shine more conspicuously, never did our marine, in any engagement, experience a rougher encounter. Captain Morris, of the Bristol, after having received many wounds, notwithstanding which he firmly maintained his station, was at length killed. Captain Scott, of the Experiment, had an arm shot away, of which wound he with difficulty recovered. Whilst this fierce action continued, the troops remained inactive on Long Island, and from some motive, which has never been explained, made no attempt to drive the enemy from their entrenchments, and attack the fort on the land side, although the engagement with the ships and fort continued until the darkness of the night obliged the combatants to desist. At ten o'clock in the evening, Sir Peter Parker withdrew his shattered vessels from the scene of action, and with great difficulty repassed the bar. On-board the Bristol, one hundred and eleven were killed, the Experiment lost seventy-nine. Thus ended the unfortunate attempt upon Charlestown.

The force which was now directed against America, instead of intimidating the revolted provinces, served only

only to fix them more firmly in their union; and on the 4th of July 1776, the *Thirteen United Colonies* declared themselves free and independent states, adjured all allegiance to the British crown, and renounced all political connection with this country. Previously to publishing this celebrated declaration; a circular letter had been sent through each colony, stating the reasons for it; and, such was the animosity now every where prevailing against Great Britain, that it met with universal approbation, except in the province of Maryland alone; it was not long, however, before the people of that colony, finding themselves left in a very dangerous minority, thought proper to accede to the measures of the rest. The declaration itself was much in the usual style, stating a long list of grievances, for which redress had been often asked in vain; and, for these reasons, they determined on a final separation; to hold the people of Britain, as the rest of mankind, "enemies in war, in peace friends."

After thus publicly throwing off all allegiance and hope of reconciliation, the colonists soon found that an exertion of all their strength was required in order to support their pretensions. Their arms, indeed, had not, during this season, been attended with success in Canada. Reinforcements had been promised to General Arnold, who still continued the blockade of Quebec; but they did not arrive in time to second his operations. Being sensible, however, that he must either desist from the enterprize, or finish it successfully, he re-commenced in form, attempting to burn the shipping, and even to storm the town itself. He was unsuccessful, however, by reason of the smallness of his force; but he succeeded so far as to burn a number of houses in the suburbs, and the garrison were obliged to pull down the remainder in order to prevent the fire from spreading.

As the provincials, though unable to reduce the town, kept the garrison in continual alarms, and in a

very disagreeable situation, some of the nobility collected themselves into a body, under the command of one Mr. Beaujeu, in order to relieve their capital; but they were met on their march by the provincials, and so entirely defeated, that they were never afterwards able to attempt any thing. The Americans, however, had but little reason to plume themselves on this success. Their want of artillery at last convinced them, that it was impracticable in their situation to reduce a place so strongly fortified: the small-pox at the same time made its appearance in their camp, and carried off great numbers; intimidating the rest to such a degree, that they deserted in crowds. To add to their misfortunes, the British reinforcements unexpectedly appeared, and the ships made their way through the ice with such celerity, that the one part of their army was separated from the other; and General Carleton, sallying out as soon as the reinforcement was landed, obliged them to fly with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind them all their cannon and military stores; at the same time that their shipping was entirely captured by vessels sent up the river for that purpose. General Carleton now gave a signal instance of his humanity: being well apprized that many of the provincials had not been able to accompany the rest in their retreat, and that they were concealed in woods, &c. in a very deplorable situation, he generously issued a proclamation, ordering proper persons to seek them out, and give them relief at the public expence; at the same time, lest, through fear of being made prisoners, they should refuse these offers of humanity, he promised, that, as soon as their situation enabled them, they should be at liberty to depart to their respective homes.

The British general, now freed from any danger of an attack, was soon enabled to act offensively against the provincials, by the arrival of the forces destined for that purpose from Britain. By these, he was put
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at the head of 12,000 regular troops, among whom were those of Brunswick. With this force he instantly set out to the Three Rivers, where he expected that Arnold would have made a stand; but he had fled to Sorel, a place one hundred and fifty miles distant from Quebec, where he was at last met by the reinforcements ordered by congress. The town of *Trois Rivières*, or Three Rivers, is situated on the north side of St. Laurence, and takes its name from the vicinity of one of the branches of a large river, whose waters are discharged through three mouths into that great reservoir.

Before any of the larger bodies were put in motion, an expedition was undertaken by Captain Forster, at the head of a small party of regulars and some Indians, against a place called the Cedars, about thirty miles to the westward of Montreal, on the river St. Laurence. This fort, though naturally strong, and defended by four hundred provincials, did not long resist Captain Forster's spirited attack. A heavy fire of musketry having been continued for a few hours, the garrison surrendered on condition of having their lives preserved from the usual ferocity of the Indians. A detachment of the latter had also taken prisoners another party of the provincials, who were marching from Montreal to the relief of the Cedars, and whose lives were spared through the resolute and conciliating interposition of Captain Forster. This brave officer advanced next day to Vaudreuil, about six miles northward of the Cedars, whence Arnold at the head of seven hundred men made an attempt to dislodge him, but was obliged to return to St. Ann's on the island of Montreal. Captain Forster not having yet received any intelligence of General Carlton's arrival at *Trois Rivières*, and finding himself much incumbered by the number of his prisoners, judged it expedient to release them in consequence of an agreement signed by Arnold to return an equal number of the

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king's troops of the same rank within the space of two months, and to send four captains to Quebec as hostages for the performance of the articles. This cartel was afterwards broken by congress, who alleged that Captain Forster had conducted himself towards the prisoners taken at the Cedars in a cruel and inhuman manner. What little foundation there was for such a dishonourable pretence, to palliate a flagrant breach of faith, will best appear from the testimony of one of the hostages. "I am surprised," said Captain Sullivan in a letter to his brother then a major general in the American service, "to hear that the congress, instead of redeeming us according to the cartel, have not only refused to do it, but have demanded Captain Forster to be delivered up to answer his conduct in what they are pleased to term the *massacre* of the Cedars. I would fain flatter myself that the congress would never have thought of such unheard-of proceedings, had they not had a false representation of the matter. I do not think that I am under any restraint when I say, and call that God who must judge of all things to witness, that not a man living could have used more humanity than Captain Forster did after the surrender of the party I belonged to; and whoever says to the contrary, let his station in life be what it will, he is an enemy to peace, and a fallacious disturber of mankind. What reason they can give for not redeeming us I cannot conceive: if they are wrongly informed that the affair of the Cedars was a massacre, why do not they rather fulfil the cartel than let their hostages remain in the hands of a merciless enemy? or do they regard their troops only while the heavens make them victorious?"

In the mean time the divisions of the British and the Brunswick forces were advancing with all practicable dispatch. A considerable body under the command of Brigadier-general Frazer had already taken their station at Trois Rivières: another under that of
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Brigadier-general Nesbit lay near them on-board some transports: and a third, more numerous than either of the former, along with the Generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Philips, and the German commander Reidesel, were on the way from Quebec. At this juncture, the Americans, who had retreated as far as the river Sorrel, about fifty miles from Trois Rivières, and had there been joined by some succours, formed a very daring scheme for the surprise of the troops under General Frazer, with little probability, it must be owned, of success, but deriving courage even from despair. The conduct of this enterprize was committed to Major-general Thompson, who embarking at Sorrel with two thousand men, and coasting along the south side of what is called the Lake St. Peter, arrived at Nicolet, whence they fell down the river by night, and passed to the other side, with the hope of being able to make a sudden attack before day-break. But Frazer having received intelligence of their approach, immediately landed a body of troops and some field-pieces, and prepared to receive them. Nesbit, at the same time, posted his detachment in their rear. After a furious but ineffectual onset, their only resource was flight. Nesbit's corps kept the river side to prevent their escape to the boats; while Frazer's, in pursuit, galled them severely with their light artillery. Between both, they were driven for some miles through a deep swamp, which they traversed with inconceivable toil, and in constant danger. The British troops at length grew tired of the pursuit, and the woods afforded the exhausted enemy a wished-for shelter. The first and second in command, with about two hundred others, were taken prisoners.

This was the last appearance of vigour shewn by the provincials in Canada. General Carleton having arrived next day (June 9) at Trois Rivières, the whole army pushed forward by land and water with great expedition. When the fleet arrived at Sorrel, they

they found the enemy had abandoned that place some hours before, dismantled the batteries which they had erected to defend the entrance into that river, and had carried off their artillery and stores. A strong column was here landed under the command of General Burgoyne, with orders to advance along the Sorrel to St. John's, while the remainder of the army and fleet sailed up the river to Longueil, the place of passage from the island of Montreal to La Prairie on the continent. Here they discovered that the enemy had abandoned the city and island of Montreal on the preceding evening. The army was immediately landed on the continent, and marching by La Prairie, crossed the peninsula formed by the St. Lawrence and the Sorrel, in order to join General Burgoyne at St. John's, where they expected that a strong resistance would be made. That general, having pursued his march without intermission, arrived at St. John's on the evening of the eighteenth, but found the buildings in flames, and nearly every thing destroyed that could not be carried off. The provincials acted in the same manner at Chamblée, and burned such vessels as they were not able to drag up the rapids in their way to Lake Champlain, where they directly embarked for Crown Point. Thus was the province of Canada entirely evacuated by the Americans; whose loss in their retreat from Quebec was not calculated at less than one thousand men. General Sullivan, however, who conducted this retreat after the affair of General Thomson, was acknowledged to have had great merit in what he did, and received the thanks of the congress accordingly.

This bad success in the north was somewhat compensated by what happened in the southern colonies. We have formerly taken notice that Mr. Martin, governor of North Carolina, had been obliged to leave his province and take refuge on-board a man of war. Notwithstanding this, he did not despair of reducing it

it again to obedience. For this purpose he applied to the Regulators, a daring set of banditti, who lived in a kind of independent state; and, though considered by government as rebels, yet had never been molested, on account of their numbers and known skill in the use of fire-arms. To the chiefs of these people commissions were sent, in order to raise some regiments; and Colonel Macdonald, a brave and enterprising officer, was appointed to command them. In the month of February he erected the king's standard, issued proclamations, &c. and collected some forces, expecting to be soon joined by a body of regular troops, who were known to be shipped from Great Britain to act against the southern colonies. The Americans, sensible of their danger, dispatched immediately what forces they had to act against the royalists, at the same time that they diligently exerted themselves to support these with suitable reinforcements. Their present force was commanded by General Moore, whose numbers were inferior to Macdonald; for which reason the latter summoned him to join the king's standard, under pain of being treated as a rebel. But Moore, being well provided with cannon, and conscious that nothing could be attempted against him, returned the compliment, by acquainting Colonel Macdonald, that if he and his party would lay down their arms, and subscribe an oath of fidelity to congress, they should be treated as friends; but, if they persisted in an undertaking for which it was evident they had not sufficient strength, they could not but expect the severest treatment. In a few days, General Moore found himself at the head of eight thousand men, by reason of the continual supplies which daily arrived from all parts. The royal party amounted only to two thousand, and they were destitute of artillery, which prevented them from attacking the enemy while they had the advantage of numbers. They were now, therefore, obliged to have recourse to a desperate exertion of personal valour;
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by dint of which, they effected a retreat for eighty miles, to Moor's Creek, within sixteen miles of Wilmington. Could they have gained this place, they expected to have been joined by Governor Martin and General Clinton, who had lately arrived with a considerable reinforcement. But Moore, with his army, pursued them so close, that they were obliged to attempt the passage of the creek itself, though a considerable body of the enemy, under the command of Colonel Coswell, in fortifications well planted with cannon, was posted on the other side. On attempting the creek, it was found not to be fordable. They were obliged, therefore, to cross over a wooden bridge, which the provincials had not time to destroy entirely. They had, however, by pulling up part of the planks, and greasing the remainder in order to render them slippery, made the passage so difficult, that the royalists could not attempt it. In this situation they were, on the 27th of February, attacked by Moore, with his superior army, and totally defeated, with the loss of their general, and most of their leaders, as well as the best and bravest of their men.

Thus was the power of the provincials established in North Carolina. Nor were they less successful in the province of Virginia; where Lord Dunmore, having long continued an useless predatory war, was at last driven from every creek and road in the province. The people he had on-board were distressed to the highest degree, by confinement in small vessels. The heat of the season, and the numbers crowded together, produced a pestilential fever, which made a great havock, especially among the blacks. At last, finding themselves in the utmost hazard of perishing by famine as well as disease, they set fire to the least valuable of their vessels, preserving only about fifty for themselves, in which they bade adieu to Virginia, some sailing to Florida, some to Bermuda, and the rest to the West-Indies.

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GENERAL HOWE

Published as the Act directs April 1st 1781.

The time was now come, when the fortitude and patience of the Americans were to undergo a severe trial. Hitherto they had been, on the whole, successful in their operations: but now they were doomed to experience misfortune, misery, and disgrace; the enemy over-running their country, and their own armies not able to face them in the field. The province of New York, as being the most central colony, and most accessible by sea, was pitched upon for the object of the main attack. The force sent against it consisted of six ships of the line, thirty frigates, besides other armed vessels, and a vast number of transports. The fleet was commanded by Lord Howe, and the land-forces by his brother, General Howe, who was now at Halifax. The latter, however, a considerable time before his brother arrived, had set sail from Halifax, and lay before New York, but without attempting to commence hostilities until he should be joined by his brother. The Americans had fortified New York, and the adjacent islands, in an extraordinary manner. General Howe landed his troops on Staten Island, where he was soon joined by a number of the inhabitants. About the middle of July, Lord Howe arrived with the grand armament; and, being one of the commissioners appointed to receive the submission of the colonists, he published a circular letter to this purpose, to the several governors who had lately been expelled from their provinces, desiring them to make the extent of his commission, and the powers he was invested with by parliament, as public as possible. Here, however, congress saved him trouble, by ordering his letter and declaration to be published in all the newspapers, that every one, as they said, might see the insidiousness of the British ministry, and that they had nothing to trust to besides the exertion of their own valour.

Lord Howe next sent a letter to General Washington; but, as it was directed "To George Washington,

ton, Esq." the general refused to receive it, as not being directed in the style suitable to his station. To obviate this objection, Adjutant-general Paterson was sent with another letter, directed "To George Washington, &c. &c." But, though a very polite reception was given to the bearer, General Washington utterly refused the letter; nor could any explanation of the adjutant induce him to open it. The only interesting part of the conversation, was that relating to the power of the commissioners, of which Lord Howe was one. The adjutant told him, that these powers were very extensive; that the commissioners were determined to exert themselves to the utmost, in order to bring about a reconciliation; and that he hoped the general would consider this visit as a step towards it. General Washington replied, that it did not appear that these powers consisted in any thing else than granting pardons; and, as America had committed no offence, she asked no forgiveness, and was only defending her unquestionable rights.

The decision of every thing being now by consent of both parties left to the sword, no time was lost, but hostilities commenced as soon as the British troops could be collected. This, however, was not done before the month of August; when they landed on Long Island, opposite to the shore of Staten Island. General Putnam, with a large body of troops, lay encamped and strongly fortified on a peninsula on the opposite shore, with a range of hills between the armies, the principal pass of which was near a place called *Flat-bush*. Here the centre of the British army, consisting of Hessians, took post; the left wing under General Grant, lying near the shore; and the right, consisting of the greater part of the British forces under Lords Percy, Cornwallis, and General Clinton. Putnam had ordered the passes to be secured by large detachments, which was executed as to those at hand; but one of the greatest importance, which lay at a distance,

tance, was entirely neglected. This gave an opportunity to a large body of troops under Lord Percy and General Clinton to pass the mountains and attack the Americans in the rear, while they were engaged with the Hessians in front. Through this piece of negligence, their defeat became inevitable. Those who were engaged with the Hessians first perceived their mistake, and began a retreat towards their camp; but their passage was intercepted by the British troops, who drove them back into the woods. Here they were met by the Hessians; and thus were they for many hours slaughtered between two fires, no way of escape remaining but by breaking through the British troops, and thus regaining their camp. In this attempt many perished; and the right wing, engaged with General Grant, shared the same fate. The victory was complete; and the Americans lost on this fatal day (August 27th) between three and four thousand men, of whom two thousand were killed in the battle. Among these, a regiment, consisting of young gentlemen of fortune and family in Maryland, was almost entirely cut in pieces, and of the survivors not one escaped without a wound. The ardour of the British troops was so great, that they could scarcely be restrained from attacking the lines of the provincials; but for this there was now no occasion, as it was certain they could not be defended. Of the British only 61 were killed in this engagement, and 257 wounded. Eleven hundred of the enemy, among whom were three generals, were taken prisoners. As none of the American commanders thought it proper to risk another attack, it was resolved to abandon their camp as soon as possible. Accordingly, on the night of the 29th of August, the whole of the continental troops were ferried over with the utmost secrecy and silence; so that in the morning the British had nothing to do but take possession of the camp and artillery which they had abandoned.

This victory, though complete, was very far from being so decisive as the conquerors imagined. Lord Howe, supposing that it would be sufficient to intimidate the congress into some terms, sent General Sullivan, who had been taken prisoner in the late action, to congress, with a message, importing, that, though he could not consistently treat with them as a legal assembly, yet he would be very glad to confer with any of the members in their private capacity; setting forth at the same time the nature and extent of his powers as commissioner. But the congress was not as yet sufficiently humbled to derogate in the least from the dignity of character they had assumed. They replied, that the congress of the free and independent states of America could not consistently send any of its members in another capacity than that which they had publicly assumed; but, as they were extremely desirous of restoring peace to their country upon equitable conditions, they would appoint a committee of their body to wait upon him, and learn what proposals he had to make.

This produced a new conference. The committee appointed by congress was composed of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge. They were very politely received by his lordship; but the conference proved as fruitless as before independency had been declared, and the final answer of the deputies was, that they were extremely willing to enter into any treaty with Great Britain that conduced to the good of both nations, but that they would not treat in any other character than that of independent states. This positive declaration instantly put an end to all hopes of reconciliation; and it was resolved to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. Lord Howe, after publishing a manifesto, in which he declared the refusal of congress, and that he himself was willing to confer with all well-disposed persons about the means of restoring public tranquillity, set about the most proper methods

methods for reducing the city of New York. Here the provincial troops were posted, and from a great number of batteries kept continually annoying the British shipping. The East River lay between them, of about twelve hundred yards in breadth, which the British troops were extremely desirous of passing. At last, the ships having, after an incessant cannonade of several days, silenced the most troublesome batteries, a body of troops were sent up the river to a bay, about three miles distant, where the fortifications were less strong than in other places. Here having driven off the provincials by the cannon of the fleet, they marched directly towards the city, (Sept. 15, 1776.) but the enemy, finding that they should now be attacked on all sides, abandoned the city, and retired to the north of the island, where their principal force was collected. In their passage thither they skirmished with the British, but carefully avoided a general engagement; and it was observed that they did not behave with that ardour and impetuous valour which had hitherto marked their character.

The British and provincial armies were not now above two miles distant from each other; the former lay encamped from shore to shore for an extent of two miles, being the breadth of the island, which, though fifteen miles long, exceeds not two in any part in breadth. The provincials, who lay directly opposite, had strengthened their camp with many fortifications; at the same time, being masters of all the passes and defiles betwixt the two camps, they were enabled to defend themselves against an army much more numerous than their own; and they had also strongly fortified a pass called *King's Bridge*, whence they could secure a passage to the continent in case of any misfortune. Here General Washington, in order to inure the provincials to actual service, and at the same time to annoy the enemy as much as possible, employed his troops in continual skirmishes; by which it was observed that they

they soon recovered their spirits, and behaved with their usual boldness.

As the situation of the two armies was now highly inconvenient for the British generals, it was resolved to make such movements as might oblige General Washington to relinquish his strong situation. The possession of New York had been less beneficial than was expected. It had been concerted among the provincials, that the city should be burnt at the time of evacuation; but, as they were forced to depart with precipitation, they were prevented from putting the scheme in execution. In a few days, however, it was attempted by some who had been left behind for that purpose. Taking advantage of a high wind and dry weather the town was set on fire in several places at once, by means of combustibles placed for that purpose; and, notwithstanding the most active exertions of the soldiery and sailors, a fourth part of the city was consumed.

On this occasion the British were irritated to the highest degree; and many persons, said to be incendiaries, were without mercy thrown into the flames. It was determined to force the provincial army to a greater distance, that they might have it less in their power, by any emissaries, to engage others in a similar attempt. For this purpose, General Howe having left Lord Percy with sufficient force to garrison New York, he embarked his army in flat-bottomed boats, by which they were conveyed through the dangerous passage called *Hell Gate*, and landed near the town of West Chester, lying on the continent towards Connecticut. Here having received a supply of men and provisions, they moved to New Rochelle, situated on the sound which separates Long Island from the continent. After this, receiving still fresh reinforcements, they made such movements as threatened to distress the provincials very much, by cutting off their convoys of provisions from Connecticut, and thus force them to an engagement.

When

When the British army landed near West Chester, Washington harangued his officers, and told them, that they must retreat no farther, but decide the fate of America on the ground where they were then intrenched. Lee came up soon after, and having learned what had passed, remonstrated against so desperate a resolution. He said, that the British would infallibly hem Washington's army round with such a chain of works, as would reduce him to the necessity of surrendering through famine, without exposing them to the risk of a battle. These representations had due effect on Washington, whose heroic spirit, disdainful of continual retreat, might otherwise have hurried him beyond the dictates of his cooler judgement. He therefore extended his forces into a long line opposite to the way in which the enemy marched, keeping the Bruna, a river of considerable magnitude, between the two armies, with the North River on his rear. Here again the provincials continued for some time to annoy and skirmish with the royal army, until at last, by some other manœuvres, the British general found means to attack them advantageously at a place called the *White Plains*, and drove them from some of their posts. The victory on this occasion was much less complete than the former; however, it obliged the provincials once more to shift their ground, and to retreat farther up the country. General Howe pursued for some time; but, at last, finding all his endeavours vain to bring the Americans to a pitched battle, he determined to give over such an useless chase, and employ himself in reducing the forts which the provincials still retained in the neighbourhood of New York. In this he met with the most complete success. Making a sudden movement towards Kingsbridge, he unexpectedly invested fort Washington, a strong post, which the Americans, contrary to the earnest advice of Lee, occupied on the North river, opposite to which was Fort Lee on the Jersey side. Colonel Magaw, the commander of the fortress, refusing to surrender to
General

General Howe's summons on the 15th of November, it was carried sword in hand by a furious assault the next morning. The loss of the royal army in killed and wounded amounted to about eight hundred: that of the garrison to near twelve hundred, besides more than two thousand who were made prisoners. On this acquisition, Lord Cornwallis was detached with a strong body of forces to form the investment of Fort Lee, but found it already abandoned by the garrison, who retired with such precipitation as to leave behind them their artillery, provisions, and stores. General Washington, who had passed the North river, with a view to the protection of the province of Jersey, now found himself compelled to retreat with a very diminished force to Newark, whence he fell back, on the approach of Lord Cornwallis, to Brunswick, leaving Newark the very morning that his lordship entered it. As the van of Lord Cornwallis's army advanced to Brunswick by a forced march, on the first of December, General Washington retreated to Prince Town, having first broken down the bridge erected there over the Rariton. As the orders of his lordship were positive not to advance beyond Brunswick, he here sent dispatches to the commander in chief, expressing sanguine hopes, that by a continued pursuit he could entirely disperse the army under General Washington, and seize his heavy baggage and artillery before he could pass the Delaware. But General Howe would not revoke his order, saying only that he would join his lordship immediately. Almost a week, however, elapsed before this junction took place, nor was any vigorous effort then used to recover lost time. On the 7th of December, the British army marched from Brunswick at four o'clock in the morning, and about the same hour in the afternoon arrived at Princetown, from which place General Washington in person, with Stirling's brigade, had not been gone quite an hour. Trenton on the Delaware, where the Americans

ricans were to embark for Pennsylvania, was but twelve miles distant. Yet the British troops were detained for seventeen hours at Prince-town, and, marching thence at nine next morning, got to Trenton at four in the afternoon, just when the last boat of Washington's embarkation crossed the river, as if Howe had calculated, with the nicest accuracy, the exact time necessary for his enemy to make his escape.

While the royal army were overrunning the greater part of the Jerseys without opposition, General Clinton, with two brigades of British and two of Hessian troops, and a squadron of ships of war under the command of Sir Peter Parker, were sent to make an attempt upon Rhode Island. In this enterprise they succeeded even beyond expectation; for the provincials having abandoned the island at their approach, they took possession of it without the loss of a man, on the very day that General Washington crossed the Delaware. In consequence also of their sudden arrival and success, an American squadron of five frigates, commanded by Commodore Hopkins, was under the necessity of retiring up the river Providence, where it remained blocked up and inactive.

The same ill success attended the Americans in other parts. After their expulsion from Canada, they had crossed the lake Champlain, and taken up their quarters at Crown Point, as already mentioned. Here they remained for some time in safety, as the British had no vessels on the lake, and consequently General Burgoyne could not pursue them. To remedy this deficiency, there was no possible method, but either to construct vessels on the spot, or take to pieces some vessels already constructed, and drag them up the river into the lake. This was effected in no longer a space than three months; and the British general, after incredible toil and difficulty, saw himself in possession of a great number of vessels, by which means he was enabled to pursue his enemies, and attack them in his turn. The labour undergone at this time by

the sea and land forces must indeed have been prodigious; since there were conveyed over land, and dragged up the rapids of St. Laurence, no fewer than 30 large long-boats, 400 batteaux, besides a vast number of flat-bottomed boats, and a gondola of thirty tons. The intent of the expedition was to push forward before winter to Albany, where the army would take up its winter-quarters, and next spring effect a junction with that under General Howe, when it was supposed that the united force and skill of these two commanders would speedily put a termination to the war.

By reason of the difficulties with which the equipment of this fleet had been attended, it was the beginning of October before the expedition could be undertaken. It was now, however, by every judge allowed to be completely able to answer the purpose for which it was intended. It consisted of the *Inflexible*, mounting eighteen 12-pounders, the *Carleton* schooner mounting fourteen, and another schooner with twelve 6-pounders besides howitzers, and a gondola seven 9-pounders; besides these were twenty gun-boats, carrying field-pieces, and armed with howitzers: some long boats were furnished in the same manner, and a number of large boats acted as tenders. A number of transports were likewise employed to convey the troops across the lake. On-board this fleet, which was commanned by Captain Pringle, were seven hundred seamen; General Carleton headed the land-forces.

The enemy's force on the lake was much inferior: it consisted of fifteen vessels of different kinds; two schooners, the largest of which mounted twelve six and four pounders, one sloop, one cutter, three galleys, and eight gondolas. Arnold, who commanded, and who was now, for the first time, to appear in the capacity of a naval officer, was on-board the *Congress* galley; Brigadier-general Waterburg, the second in command, was on-board the *Washington* galley.

On

On the 11th of October, 1776, the two fleets appeared in sight of each other, when a sharp action ensued; the Americans had the advantage of the wind, but were inferior to their opponents in the manner of working and directing their guns, as well as in force, although the *Inflexible* could not be brought to act; so that the *Carleton* schooner and the gun-boats bore the brunt of the engagement, in which the largest American schooner was burnt, and a gondola sunk. At the approach of night, Captain Pringle drew off the ships that were engaged, and brought the whole fleet to anchor on a line, with a design to prevent the enemy's escape, and to renew the fight the next morning. Arnold, convinced of his inability to make head against such a force as was now collected against him, availed himself of the darkness of the night, and retreated towards Crown Point. The return of day discovered to the English the escape of their enemy, whom they had considered as their certain prize. They pursued their flying foes, and overtook them on the 13th about noon, a few leagues short of Crown Point. Another action followed, in which the *Washington* galley, with General Waterburg on-board, was taken. Arnold, unable any longer to maintain the combat, ran the Congress galley with five gondolas on shore, and landing his men, blew up the vessels. The other galley and three small vessels, being all that remained of the American fleet, escaped to Ticonderoga.

Immediately on this decisive stroke, the Americans abandoned Crown Point, after destroying every thing which they could not carry off, and retreated to Ticonderoga. General Carleton took possession of the dismantled fort, but thought it not adviseable to attempt the reduction of the other fortrefs. It was a place of considerable strength, and the force which defended it was not known. When held by the French in the year 1758, an army sixty thousand strong, composed of regulars and provincials, com-

manded by General Abercrombie, had been very roughly handled in an assault which was made upon it and obliged to retire. The place had never been reduced, the French choosing to evacuate it on the approach of General Amherst two years after. These considerations rendered General Carleton very cautious in attacking a place, which in that advanced season of the year, would yield no immediate advantages if taken; and should it withstand the assault, the glory which the British arms had acquired would be sullied, as well as great loss sustained. He therefore re-embarked his troops, and arriving in Canada, cantoned them for the winter.

Thus the affairs of the Americans seemed every where going to wreck; even those who had been most sanguine in their cause began to waver. The time, also, for which the soldiers had enlisted themselves, was now expired; and the bad success of the preceding campaign had been so very discouraging, that no person was willing to engage himself during the continuance of a war, of which the event seemed to be so doubtful. In consequence of this, General Washington found his army daily decreasing in strength; so that from 30,000, of whom it consisted when General Howe landed on Staten Island, scarcely a tenth part could now be mustered. To assist the chief commander as much as possible, General Lee had collected a body of forces in the north; but on his way southward, having imprudently taken up his lodging at some distance from his troops, information was given to Colonel Harcourt, who happened at that time to be in the neighbourhood, and Lee was made prisoner, on the 13th of December. The loss of this general was much regretted, the more especially as he was of superior quality to any prisoner in the possession of the colonists. Six field-officers were offered in exchange for him, but refused; and the congress was highly irritated at its being reported that he

was

was to be treated as a deserter, having been a half-pay officer in the British service at the commencement of the war. In consequence of this they issued a proclamation, threatening to retaliate on the prisoners in their possession whatever punishment should be inflicted on any of those taken by the British; and especially, that their conduct should be regulated by the treatment of General Lee.

In the mean time, they proceeded with the most indefatigable diligence to recruit their army, and bound their soldiers to serve for a term of three years, or during the continuance of the war. The army designed for the ensuing campaign, was to consist of eighty-eight battalions; of which, each province was to contribute its quota; and twenty dollars were offered as a bounty to each soldier, besides an allotment of lands at the end of the war. In this allotment it was stipulated, that each soldier should have 100 acres; an ensign, 150; a lieutenant, 200; a captain, 300; a major, 400; a lieutenant-colonel, 450; and a colonel, 500. No lands were promised to those who enlisted only for three years. All officers or soldiers disabled through wounds received in the service, were to enjoy half-pay during life. To defray the expence, congress borrowed five millions of dollars at five per cent. for payment of which the United States became surety. At the same time, in order to animate the people to vigorous exertions, a declaration was published, in which they set forth the necessity there was for taking proper methods to ensure success in their cause: they endeavoured to palliate, as much as possible, the misfortunes which had already happened; and represented the true cause of the present distress to be the short term of enlistment.

This declaration, together with the imminent danger of Philadelphia, determined the Americans to exert themselves to the utmost, in order to reinforce Washington's army; and they soon received farther encouragement, by an exploit of that general against
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the Hessians. As the royal army was injudiciously extended in different cantonments for a considerable length, Washington, on being fully informed of this disposition, exclaimed in the spirit of a vigilant and sagacious commander, "Now is the time to clip the wings of the enemy, while they are so spread."

Very early in the morning of the 26th of December, a day purposely selected on the supposition that the preceding festivity of Christmas-day might favour the project of surprise, General Washington crossed the Delaware, not without extreme difficulty, as the river had begun to be frozen; and directly proceeding on his march in the midst of snow and hail, reached Trenton by day-break. Here about one thousand six hundred men, chiefly Hessians, were stationed under the command of Colonel Rahl, who were thrown into confusion at the first attack. The colonel himself being mortally wounded, the disorder increased; and, abandoning their artillery, they attempted to make their retreat to Prince-town: but finding this impracticable, and being now overpowered and nearly surrounded, the three regiments of Rahl, Lossberg, and Knyphausen, laid down their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners of war; the remainder of the troops narrowly escaping by way of Bordentown. In the evening General Washington repassed the Delaware, carrying with him the prisoners, their artillery, and colours; and entered the city of Philadelphia in triumph.

This action, though seemingly of no very decisive nature, was sufficient, at that time, to turn the fortune of war in favour of America. It tended greatly to lessen the fear which the provincials had of the Hessians, at the same time that it equally abated the confidence which the British had till now put in them. Reinforcements came in to Washington's army from all quarters; so that he was soon in a condition to leave Philadelphia, and take up his quarters at Trenton.

ren. Emboldened by his success, he determined to make an attempt on a division of the British forces stationed at Maidenhead, a town situated half-way between Trenton and Prince-town. This consisted of three regiments, under the command of Colonel Mawhood, an officer of great merit. The troops were surprised on their march; but, though they were separately surrounded and attacked by a force vastly superior, they charged the enemy so resolutely with their bayonets, that they effected a retreat. These attempts of the Americans, however, with the hostile disposition of the people, shewed the impossibility of maintaining posts so far advanced in the enemy's country; so that it was resolved to retreat towards Brunswick, in order to prevent it, with the troops and magazines it contained, from falling into the hands of the provincials. General Washington omitted no opportunity of recovering what had been lost; and, by dividing his army into small parties, which could be reunited on a few hours warning, he in a manner entirely covered the face of the country, and repossessed himself of all the important places.

Thus ended the campaign of 1776, with scarcely any real advantage other than the acquisition of the city of New York, and of a few fortresses in its neighbourhood; where the troops were constrained to act with as much circumspection as if they had been besieged by a victorious army, instead of being themselves the conquerors.

The seas now swarmed with American privateers, who made great depredations on our West-India ships; and boldly venturing up the Mediterranean, and even into the channel, carried off a number of very rich prizes, to the great loss of the English merchants, and to the utter ruin of many very wealthy and respectable houses of trade. The value of the captures made by the Americans in the year 1776, was estimated at more than a million sterling. In
consequence

consequence of which the Thames soon after presented the unusual and melancholy sight of great number of foreign ships, particularly French, taking in cargoes of English commodities for various parts of Europe, the property of our own English merchants, who were thus reduced to seek that protection under the colour of other nations, which the British flag used to afford to all the world.

The French had a glorious specimen given them this summer of the old, the characteristical, intrepidity of British seamen. Sir Thomas Rich, in his majesty's ship the *Enterprise*, happened on the 25th of July to fall in with a French squadron of two sail of the line and several frigates, commanded by the Duke of Chartres. The French bore down upon her, and the admiral hailed the *Enterprise*, and desired the captain to come on-board immediately; to which the latter replied, that, if the admiral had any thing to communicate to him, he might come on-board the *Enterprise*, as the captain would not go out of his ship. The duke insisted that he should, or he would sink him; and the French ships accordingly pointed their guns at the *Enterprise*; but Sir Thomas, regardless of their threats and preparations, declared, that he never received any orders but from his *own* admiral, and that they were at liberty to fire whenever they pleased, as he positively would not quit his ship. The duke, admiring his spirited conduct, begged it as a *favour* that he would do him the honour to come aboard, as he wished much to be acquainted with so brave a man. Upon this Sir Thomas went directly, and was received with the utmost respect by the duke and all his officers.

For the ensuing year, sixteen additional ships of the line were put into commission, and a bounty of five pounds to every seaman was offered by proclamation; press-warrants were at the same time issued, and great vigilance was used in manning the fleet.

Forty-

Forty-five thousand seamen were voted. The expence of the navy this year, including the ordinary at 400,000*l.* and the building and repairing ships at 465,500*l.* amounted to the sum of 3,205,505*l.* Another million was afterwards granted towards discharging the debt of the navy. On the 6th of February, 1777, a bill for enabling the admiralty to grant commissions or letters of marque and reprisal to the owners or captains of private merchantmen, authorising them to take and make prize of all vessels with their effects belonging to any of the thirteen revolted American colonies, was passed.

A transaction of a most extraordinary nature in the East-Indies, and which amounted to no less than the total subversion of established government in one of the principal settlements on the coast of Coromandel, together with several subsequent proceedings relative to it at the India house, were the means of bringing the affairs of the company once more within the cognizance of parliament. This revolution was generally ascribed to the intrigues and ambition of the Nabob of Arcot, who had risen to very great power through the protection and alliance of the company, and had gradually acquired an overruling, if not boundless influence in the council at Madras. With a view, it was said, of more effectually promoting his designs, he laid by the jealous state and distant pride of an eastern despot, and seemed to become, as nearly as could possibly be admitted, an inmate and member of the British community at that settlement, making the outward, or black town, as it is called, the principal seat of his residence. Thus he was in constant possession of every transaction that passed, and even of every proposal that originated in the council; nor is it improbable that some of the measures adopted there arose from his own immediate suggestions. It is certain, that a joint enterprise, which was undertaken by the company's forces in

that presidency with the nabob's, afforded too much colour to such an opinion, and unhappily contributed its full share, along with other eastern exorbitancies, deeply to affect the character of the English nation both in Europe and Asia.

This was the famous expedition to Tanjore, an enterprize heard of in almost every part of the world, and condemned for its cruelty and injustice wherever it was heard. The Rajah of Tanjore was one of those Gentoo princes, whose ancestors had been long in possession of the country, and who had never been entirely subdued by the Mogul Tartars; but were rendered tributary to their empire, the government being otherwise retained in the original hands. This prince had been for many years in alliance both with the company and the nabob, and had been engaged with them in the perils and fortune of former wars. On the settlement of the affairs of the East-Indies at the treaty of Paris, it was thought necessary to put an end to the dispute between France and England, who supported the interests of different pretenders to power in that part of the world. France was accordingly obliged to admit Salabat Jing as lawful Subah of the Decan; and Mahomet Ali Cawn, as lawful Nabob of the Carnatic. The mogul readily granted, on his part, such powers as were necessary to confirm these arrangements. Accounts were also liquidated, and a convention made under the authority and guarantee of the company between their own allies. The nabob was to be paid the arrears of, and to receive, in future, the tribute due to the mogul, for which he was to be accountable to their common superior, and to have a considerable sum for himself. The rajah was to remain in all other respects as before in possession of his dominions; but a variety of transactions soon after took place between him and the nabob, and new accounts were opened, the rajah alleging that he ought to be allowed for his expences in certain

tain military services rendered to the nabob, and the latter insisting on receiving immediate payment of the sums stipulated under the late convention without any abatement.

These disputes continued for some time, till the nabob prevailed on the powers at Madras and on the royal commissioners to fall in with his views; and a war, on the pretence of a delay in payment, broke out. The rajah was little able to withstand the united force of the company and nabob. His capital being taken after a brave defence, the unhappy prince was stripped without pity or remorse, of every thing but life. His kingdom was seized by the nabob; his treasures were applied to the expences of the war, and to other present purposes; whilst his subjects, who were among the most industrious people in India, experienced all the cruelty and rapacity of a Mahometan conquest and government.

The account of this transaction, with all the circumstances of the spoil and ruin of a friend and ally in so unexampled a manner, excited the greatest indignation of the company in England. That visible ascendancy over the counsels and actions of their servants, of which the nabob had now given a very dangerous proof, was another alarming consideration. He had also removed his eldest son, a mild and moderate prince, from all power, and from the command of his armies, and placed it in the hands of his second son, a young man of a temper more congenial to his own, and possessed of ability, with a strong spirit of enterprise. Good policy, therefore, as well as justice, pointed out the propriety of setting some bounds to the nabob's ambitious career, by restoring the rajah to his dominions. The company, at the same time, were far from wishing to fall out with the nabob, if it could be avoided; nor were they disposed to urge matters to any extremity with their servants for what was past. A reparation of the outrage and wrong seemed likely to answer every purpose; but it was

apprehended, that a vigorous prosecution of the delinquents would involve the company's affairs in the utmost perplexity. In order to execute so delicate a commission with equal prudence, safety, and honour, it was resolved to send out Lord Pigot, as governor and president of Madras, the company very reasonably supposing, that the appearance of such a man upon that ground which had been the scene of his former power and glory, where his name and actions were still fresh and alive, and where the principal and most dangerous party was little more than the creature of his own making, would have been attended with distinguished advantages; and that he might have performed those acts without envy or jealousy, which would have been opposed or resented in other hands.

The time that unavoidably elapsed before Lord Pigot's arrival in his government, afforded a full scope for the exercise of the nabob's ability in intrigue. Though the part already taken by the council would necessarily influence their conduct in endeavouring to support or confirm their own former act, he thought it prudent to interest them still more deeply in the measure of securing to him the perpetual possession of Tanjore. He accordingly borrowed vast sums of money from several members of the council, and some others whose weight and concurrence might be requisite for the completion of his scheme; and directly or indirectly mortgaged to them the revenues of Tanjore, as a security both for the principal, and for a prodigious interest arising on it, which amounted annually to near one third of the original debt.

Lord Pigot did not reach Madras till the latter end of the year 1775; but notwithstanding the previous measures which had been taken, and the violent opposition he experienced, he succeeded so far as to restore the rajah to the just possession of his ancient and hereditary dominions. His lordship had
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now to encounter the mortal enmity of the nabob, and a corrupt combination of the majority of the council, who were farther strengthened by the dangerous power lodged in the hands of the commander in chief of the forces. The disputes grew hotter from day to day; and the cabals with the nabob grew closer and closer. It was of the greatest moment to send a proper officer to Tanjore. The opposition part of the council first agreed with the governor on the measure, and the designation of the person. They soon changed their minds about the latter, and insisted, that being the majority of the council, they had a right to do every thing, regardless of the governor's opinion or dissent. Lord Pigot, finding them actuated by no other principle than that of traversing all his endeavours for carrying the orders of the company into execution, took a very bold step, for which nothing but the exigency of the moment could afford any excuse; and having put the question, carried the suspension of two of the council by his own casting vote. He also put Sir Robert Fletcher, the commander in chief of the forces, under an arrest for disobedience of his supreme authority in the fortrefs.

Instead of waiting the decision of the company on these measures; a plot was formed by the offended party for seizing the person of the president, and for effecting a complete revolution in their own favour. In consequence of the arrest laid upon Sir Robert Fletcher, Colonel Stuart succeeded to the command of the forces. Though this gentleman was in the highest state of intimacy and friendship with Lord Pigot, he notwithstanding entered deeply into the views of the conspirators; and as any military violence offered to the governor within the precincts of the fortrefs would involve the actors in the penalties of the mutiny laws, the colonel inveigled him to quit the only situation which could afford him security. Having, on the 23d of August, 1776, spent the fore part
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of the day with his lordship, he took occasion from the excessive heat of the weather to recommend in the evening a cool retreat to a villa at a small distance from Madras, appropriated to the use of the governors; and made an offer of his own company, as a farther inducement. In the way, they were surrounded, as had been concerted, by an officer and party of sepoy, both in the company's service, when, under the auspices and immediate hands of his late companion and guest, the governor was thrust out of his chaise, with circumstances of not less rudeness than violence, and carried prisoner to a place called the Mount, where he was confined under a strong military guard. His enemies now seized all the powers of government, appointing their principal leader to be his successor, and copying the very act on which their chief complaints against him were founded, by removing from the council such members as had voted with him in the former struggle. Both parties sent confidential persons as expresses to England, the one to arraign, and the other to justify, the late proceedings. Even the nabob had an agent in London, who left no means untried to secure effectual support both at the India-house and in parliament. But, in spite of all the efforts of corruption and intrigue, so great was the indignation of the company in general at the conduct of the conspirators, that when the whole business was formally laid before the proprietors at their quarterly court, on the 26th of March, 1777, they agreed to a resolution, which was afterwards confirmed on a ballot, by a majority of 382 to 140, recommending to the court of directors, "to take the most effectual measures for restoring Lord Pigot to the full exercise of the powers vested in him by the company;—and for inquiring into the conduct of the principal actors in his imprisonment."

Though several of the directors had been gained over to the opposite interest, they could not avoid
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acting in seeming conformity to this recommendation, while they were secretly determined to render it nugatory. Several resolutions were accordingly passed at a court held the 11th of April, by which Lord Pigot was restored to the full exercise of the office and powers, from which he had been degraded; his four friends, who had been driven from their seats, were reinstated; and the seven members of the council, including the commander in chief, who had violently overthrown the government by a military force, were suspended from the company's service: but to these was added a vote of censure on Lord Pigot's conduct; and while instructions were preparing to accompany the resolutions, every possible impediment was thrown in the way to retard or embarrass the business. The main subject appeared to be almost forgotten in a variety of other disputes. At length, under the imposing show of an attempt to please all parties, to reconcile all differences, and to administer impartial justice, three new resolutions were proposed; and, to the astonishment of the public, the question in favour of them was carried, at another general court of proprietors on the 9th of May, by a majority of 414 to 317. By the first of these resolutions, after reprobating the treatment which Lord Pigot had met with, and affording him the mockery of a temporary restoration to his government, without any power of acting in it, he was ordered immediately home, for an inquiry into his conduct: by the second, his friends in the council were ordered home: and by the third, the whole body of his enemies were likewise recalled.

Such glaring inconsistency in the proceedings at the India-house prompted Governor Johnstone to bring the matter before parliament on the 22d of the same month, and to move for several resolutions, which went to a strong approbation of Lord Pigot's conduct; to a confirmation of those acts of the company that had been either passed in his favour, or in condemnation of the factious party at Madras; and to annul the
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late incongruous resolution for his recall. On these, if carried, the mover intended to found a bill for better securing the English settlements in the East-Indies. The motion was opposed by the friends of administration, though most of the principals were absent, perhaps from an unwillingness to take any share in the debate. It certainly did Lord North very little honour to exert himself in supporting the absurd and venal resolution of the court of proprietors.—All the force of argument, all the powers of eloquence, seemed to be confined to the speakers of the minority on this occasion. Mr. Fox, in particular, excited such sudden and extraordinary bursts of applause, as had never before been heard in a British house of commons. Yet, when a division took place at one o'clock in the morning, the numbers were only 67 in favour of Governor Johnstone's motion, against 90, by whom it was rejected. The unfortunate nobleman, whose conduct and whose sufferings were the chief subject of the debate, did not live to feel the additional sting of parliamentary injustice. Eleven days before this decision, he fell a victim to the rigors of confinement, to the insults and cruelty of his enemies; but retained to the last moment that dignity and firmness of character, for which he had been so eminently distinguished.

This affair in all its circumstances was again brought before the house of commons, on the 16th of April, 1779, when Admiral Pigot, the deceased lord's brother, after stating in a series of resolutions, the principal facts relative to the catastrophe, concluded with moving an address to his majesty, praying, "that he would be graciously pleased to give directions to his attorney-general to prosecute George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, and George Mackay, Esqrs. for ordering their governor, Lord Pigot, to be arrested and confined under a military force; they being returned to England, and now within the jurisdiction of his majesty's courts of Westminster-hall." Stratton,

ton, the ringleader of those conspirators, was, at this critical instant of time, personally present in his place, as a member of the house of commons; and entered into a long defence of his own conduct, as well as that of his colleagues. But his vindication appeared so unsatisfactory, that Admiral Pigot's resolutions were carried and the address agreed to unanimously. In the sequel, however, the delinquents, though convicted in the court of King's Bench, were sentenced only to pay a trifling fine.

The attention of parliament was now called off from the confusions of the east to the more pressing concerns of the western world. On the 30th of May, the Earl of Chatham moved the house of lords to address the throne, praying that the most speedy and effectual measures should be taken for putting a stop to hostilities in America, and for the removal of accumulated grievances. He particularly insisted upon the necessity of immediately adopting the proposed measure, from the imminent danger to which, in our present situation, we were exposed from the house of Bourbon. A treaty between France and America, he said, was then agitating, whereby we should not only lose the advantages which we had derived from the vast and increasing commerce of our colonies, but that commerce and those advantages, would be acquired by our natural enemies. He insisted on the impracticability of conquering America, and declared in that strong and emphatic language, by which this great statesman and orator was so peculiarly distinguished, that we were "waging war with America under a masked battery of France, which would ere long open upon us and sweep us away." The motion, after warm debates, was rejected by a majority of 99 to 28.

These predictions were drawn from the true source of intelligence, a penetrating sagacity. A few days after this speech was delivered, M. de Sartine, the French minister of marine, caused a public instrument

to be delivered to the several chambers of commerce in France, which assured them that the king his master was determined to afford the fullest protection to their commerce with the Americans, and would reclaim all ships that were taken by English cruizers whilst conveying the products of that continent. This declaration was in direct defiance of all the navigation laws which had been enacted by the British legislature. That nice sense of injured honour, which had ever influenced this nation in her conduct towards foreign powers, was now most notoriously suppressed. The exigencies of the times dictated a tame and submissive spirit, and it was adopted. The real or pretended security, which the ministry professed, did not prevent many foreboding apprehensions being uttered in each house of parliament, and enquiries respecting the state of our navy were strenuously urged, which drew from the noble lord at the head of the admiralty board a very confident assertion, that a force could in a very short time be sent to sea, sufficient to cope with the house of Bourbon, if the two branches should unite against us.

Such was the state of Europe. In America, an expedition was undertaken early in the spring of 1777. The army at New York began to exercise a kind of predatory war, by sending out parties to destroy magazines, make incursions, and take or destroy such forts as lay on the banks of rivers, to which their great command of shipping gave them access. In this they were generally successful; the provincial magazines at Peek's Hill, a place about fifty miles distant from New York, were destroyed, the town of Dunbury, in Connecticut, burnt, and that of Ridgefield, in the same province, was taken possession of. In returning from the last expedition, the British were greatly harassed by the enemy under Generals Arnold, Wooster, and Sullivan; but they made good their retreat in spite of all opposition, with the loss of only 170 killed and wounded.

wounded. On the American side the loss was much greater; General Wooster was killed, and Arnold in the most imminent danger. On the other hand, the Americans destroyed the store at Sagg Harbour, in Long Island, and made prisoners of all who defended the place. As this method of making war could answer but little purpose, and favoured more of the barbarous incursions of savages than of a war carried on by a civilized people, it was resolved to make an attempt on Philadelphia. At first it was thought that this could be done through the Jerseys; but General Washington had received such large reinforcements, and posted himself so strongly, that it was found to be impracticable. Many stratagems were used to draw him from this strong situation, but without success; so that it was found necessary to make the attempt on Philadelphia by sea. While the preparations for this expedition were going forward, the Americans found means to make amends for the capture of General Lee by that of General Prescott, who was seized in his quarters with his aid-de-camp, in much the same manner as General Lee had been. This was exceedingly mortifying to the general himself, as he had not long before set a price upon General Arnold, by offering a sum of money to any one that apprehended him; which the latter answered, by setting a lower price upon General Prescott.

The month of July was far advanced before the preparations for the expedition against Philadelphia were completed; and it was the 23d before the fleet was able to sail from Sandy Hook. The force employed in this expedition consisted of thirty-six battalions of British and Hessians, a regiment of light horse, and a body of loyalists raised at New York. The remainder of these, with seventeen battalions, and another body of light horse, were stationed at New York, under Sir Henry Clinton. Seven battalions were stationed at Rhode Island. After a week's sailing, they

arrived at the mouth of the Delaware; when they received certain intelligence, that the navigation of the river was so effectually obstructed, that no possibility of forcing a passage remained. Upon this it was resolved to proceed farther southward, to Chesapeake bay, in Maryland, from whence the distance to Philadelphia was not very great, and where the provincial army would find less advantage, from the nature of the country, than in the Jerseys.

On the news of their arrival in Chesapeake, General Washington left the Jerseys, and hastened to the relief of Philadelphia; and, in the beginning of September, met the royal army at Brandy-wine Creek, about mid-day, between the head of the Elk and Philadelphia. Here he adhered to his former method of skirmishing and harassing the royal army on its march; but, as this proved insufficient to stop its progress, he retired to that side of the creek next to Philadelphia, with an intent to dispute the passage. This brought on a general engagement, on the 11th of September, in which the Americans were defeated; and it was only through the approach of night that they were saved from being entirely destroyed. On this occasion, the provincials lost about 1000 in killed and wounded, besides 400 taken prisoners.

The loss of this battle proved also the loss of Philadelphia. General Washington retired towards Lancaster, an inland town at a considerable distance. Here the British general took such measures as must have forced the provincials to a second engagement, but a violent rain, which lasted a day and a night, prevented his design. General Washington, though he could not prevent the loss of Philadelphia, still adhered to his original plan of distressing the royal party, by laying ambushes, and cutting off detached parties: but in this he was less successful than formerly; and one of his own detachments, which lay in ambush in a wood, were themselves surprised and entirely defeated, with
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the loss of 300 killed and wounded, besides a great number taken, and all their arms and baggage.

Intelligence having been received on the 20th of September, that General Wayne had concealed himself in the woods, with fifteen hundred men, upon some scheme of harassing the left wing or the rear of the British army on their march, Major-general Grey was detached at night, with two regiments and a body of light infantry, to surprise that corps. His skill and energy were very conspicuous in this enterprise. He gave strict orders that not a gun should be fired, and that his men should trust solely to the silent effect of the bayonet. The enemy's outposts were completely surprised, without the least noise, at one in the morning; and the British troops, guided by the light of their fires, rushed in upon the encampment, where a dreadful slaughter took place, about three hundred being killed or wounded upon the spot, and a number of prisoners taken, the remainder escaping by the darkness of the night, but with the loss of all their baggage and stores. Only one officer and three private men were killed on the side of the victors, with the same number wounded. Three days after, the whole army passed the Schuylkill without opposition, and there being nothing now to impede their progress, they advanced on the 26th to German-town, a village about seven miles from the capital of the province, where the main body formed an encampment. Next morning Lord Cornwallis, at the head of a strong detachment, took peaceable possession of Philadelphia, the congress having removed their sittings to York Town in Virginia, and General Washington having also withdrawn to Skippach Creek, a strong post about sixteen miles from the British head-quarters.

No sooner did Lord Howe receive intelligence of these successes, than he moved round with the fleet from the Chesapeake to the Delaware, the navigation of which the Americans had endeavoured to render impracticable

practicable by works and batteries constructed on a low marshy island, formed near the junction of the Delaware and the Schuylkill; and on the opposite shore, by a redoubt and intrenchment at a place called *Red-bank*. Across the mid-channel they had, in various parts, sunk large transverse beams, bolted together, and strongly headed with iron pikes pointing in various directions, to which, from the resemblance of form, the appellation was given of *chevaux de-frize*. Dr. Franklin is said to have assisted in the contrivance of the whole machinery, before his departure for France. To remove these obstructions, so as to open a communication between the fleet and the army, was an object of the utmost importance; but it could not be accomplished without previously reducing the forts, by which they were defended. Some strong parties were therefore employed on this service: three regiments had been left at Chester, for the purpose of securing the conveyance of stores and provisions; and the detachment under Lord Cornwallis at Philadelphia consisted of four battalions of grenadiers and a squadron of light horse. General Washington hearing of this dispersion of the British forces, and having been himself lately strengthened by the arrival of fifteen hundred troops from Peck's Kill, and a thousand Virginians, formed the design of surprising the camp at German Town. With this view he left Skippack Creek at six in the evening of the 3d of October, and marching all night, began his attack just at day-break. The fortieth regiment, which lay at the head of the village, being overpowered by numbers, was under the necessity of retreating; but their brave commander, Lieutenant-colonel Musgrave, by his address and activity contrived to keep five companies together, and took post with them in a large stone house, which lay full in the front of the enemy. This gallant conduct arrested the Americans in their career, and in the event prevented the separation of the right and left

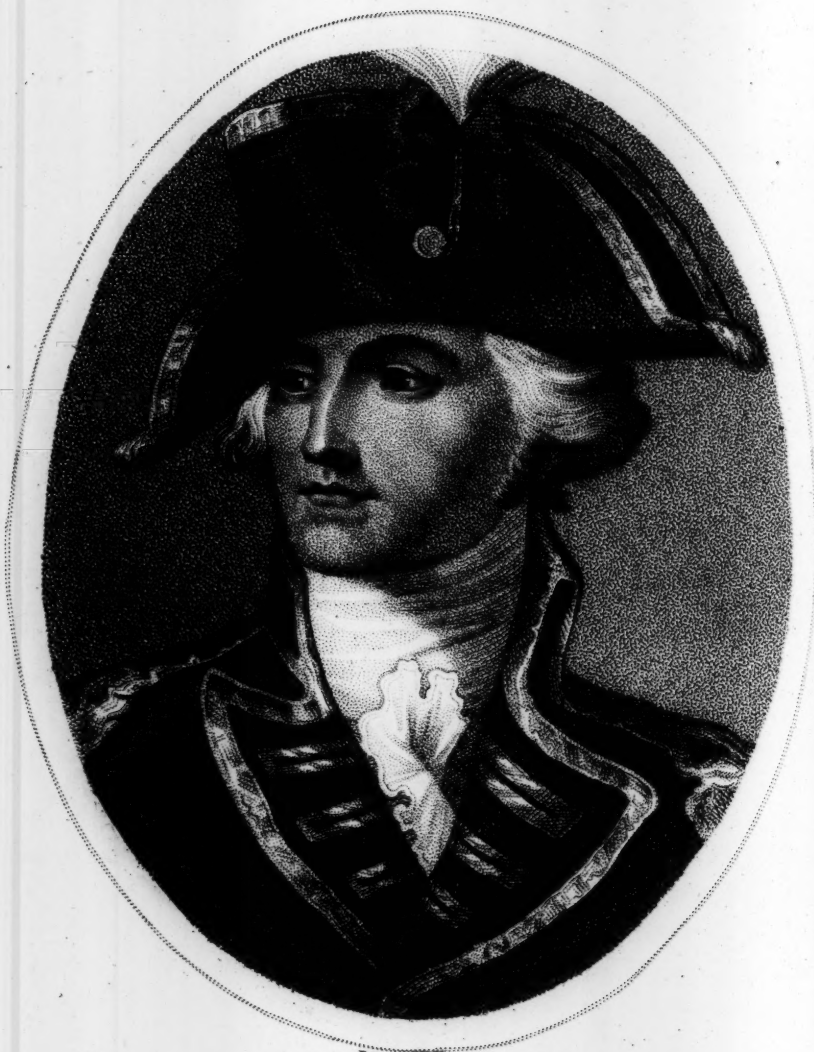
left wings, while it afforded time to the whole line to get under arms. The colonel and his party, though surrounded by a brigade, who at length brought up four pieces of cannon to the assault, maintained their post with undaunted courage, pouring a dreadful and incessant fire through the windows, till they were relieved by Major-general Grey and three battalions of the left wing, who were vigorously supported by Brigadier-general Agnew at the head of the fourth brigade. The engagement for some time was very warm, when a part of the right wing pouring down upon the enemy from the opposite side of the village, they retired with great precipitation, but made good their retreat, with all their artillery, under cover of a thick fog, which rendered it difficult for the British troops to discover their movements. The loss of the Americans in this action was supposed to amount to between two and three hundred killed, six hundred wounded, and above four hundred made prisoners. General Nash, and several inferior officers, were among the slain. The British troops also suffered severely. About seventy were killed, and in that number unhappily were Brigadier-general Agnew and Lieutenant-colonel Bird, officers of distinguished reputation. A few only were taken prisoners: but the number of the wounded fell little short of four hundred and fifty.

Measures being soon after concerted between Sir William Howe and his brother for removing the obstructions of the river, and the British army having withdrawn from German Town to the vicinity of Philadelphia, for the greater convenience of situation, a strong body of Hessians was sent over Cowper's Ferry on the 22d of October to storm the fortress of Red-bank, whilst the ships and batteries on the other side were to carry on their attacks against Mud Island, and against several galleys and armed vessels which the enemy had stationed there. Though nothing could exceed the good dispositions made for these several attacks,

tacks, nor the exertions of vigour and courage displayed both by the land and naval forces on their different elements, yet the enterprize not only failed of success, but was in every respect unfortunate. The Hessians, after a desperate engagement, were repulsed with prodigious slaughter; and the men of war and frigates, though they made their way through the lower barrier, could not bring their fire to bear, with any great effect, either on the principal works, or on the enemy's marine. The Augusta man of war and Merlin sloop were stranded in avoiding the chevaux-de-frize, and the Augusta was by accident blown up, but the greater part of the officers and crew were saved. On the 15th of November, the attack was renewed with a more formidable force; and the artillery of the enemy being completely silenced towards evening, the garrison retired in the night across river in boats to Red-bank, which was also soon after evacuated. The chevaux-de-frize were now weighed with no small difficulty, and the free navigation of the Delaware was restored. A great number of the American shipping, finding themselves entirely destitute of protection, sailed up the river in the night time. Seventeen remained, whose retreat was intercepted by a frigate and some armed vessels; on which the Americans ran them ashore and burnt them, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands.

Thus the campaign of 1777, in Pennsylvania, concluded successfully on the part of the British. In the north, however, matters wore a different aspect. The expedition in that quarter had been projected by the British ministry, as the most effectual method that could be taken to crush the colonies at once. The four provinces of New England had originally begun the confederacy against Britain, and they were still considered as the most active in the continuation of it; and it was thought, that any impression made upon them would contribute in an effectual manner to the reduction





GENERAL BURGoyNE.

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tion of the rest. For this purpose, an army of 4000 chosen British troops, and 3000 Germans, were put under the command of General Burgoyne: General Carleton was directed to use his interest with the Indians to persuade them to assist in this expedition; and the province of Quebec was to furnish large parties to join in the same. The officers who commanded under General Burgoyne were, General Philips of the artillery, Generals Frazer, Powell, and Hamilton; with the German officers, Generals Reidesel and Specht. To aid the principal expedition, another was projected on the Mohawk river, under Colonel St. Leger, who was to be assisted by Sir John Johnson, son to the famous Sir William Johnson, who had so greatly distinguished himself in the war of 1755.

On the 21st of June, 1777, the army encamped on the western side of the Lake Champlain; where, being joined by a considerable body of Indians, General Burgoyne made a speech, in which he exhorted these new allies to lay aside their ferocious and barbarous manner of making war; to kill only such as opposed them in arms; and to spare prisoners, with such women and children as should fall into their hands. After issuing a proclamation, in which the force of Britain, and that which he commanded, was set forth in very ostentatious terms, the campaign opened with the siege of Ticonderoga. The place was very strong, and garrisoned by 6000 men, under General Sinclair; nevertheless, the works were so extensive, that even this number was scarcely sufficient to defend them. They had therefore omitted to fortify a rugged eminence, called *Sugar Hill*, the top of which overlooked and effectually commanded the whole works; vainly imagining, that the difficulty of the ascent would be sufficient to prevent the enemy from taking possession of it. On the approach of the first division of the army, the provincials abandoned and set fire to their outworks; and so expeditious were the British troops, that by the 5th

of July every post was secured which was judged necessary for investing it completely. A road was soon after made to the very summit of that eminence, which the Americans had with such confidence supposed could not be ascended; and so much were they now disheartened, that they instantly abandoned the fort entirely, taking the road to Skenesborough, a place to the south of Lake George; while their baggage, with what artillery and military stores they could carry off, were sent to the same place by water. But the British generals were determined not to let them pass so easily. Both were pursued, and both overtaken. Their armed vessels consisted only of five galleys; two of which were taken, and three blown up; on which they set fire to their boats and fortifications at Skenesborough. On this occasion, the provincials lost 200 boats, 130 pieces of cannon, with all their provisions and baggage. Their land-forces under Colonel Francis made a brave defence against General Frazer: and, being greatly superior in number, had almost overpowered him, when General Reidesel, with a large body of Germans, came to his assistance. The enemy were now overpowered in their turn; and, their commander being killed, they fled on all sides with great precipitation. In this action 200 Americans were killed, as many taken prisoners, and above 600 wounded, many of whom perished in the woods for want of assistance.

During the engagement, General Sinclair was at Castleton, about six miles from the place; but, instead of going forward to Fort Anne, the next place of strength, he repaired to the woods which lie between that fortress and New England. General Burgoyne detached Colonel Hill, with the ninth regiment, to intercept such as should attempt to retreat towards Fort Anne. On his way he met with a body of the enemy, said to be six times as numerous as his own; who, after an engagement of three hours, were obliged to retire with great loss. After so many disasters, despairing

pairing of being able make any stand at Fort Anne, they set fire to it, and retired to Fort Edward. In all these engagements, the loss of killed and wounded in the royal army did not exceed two hundred men.

General Burgoyne was now obliged to suspend his operations for some time, and wait at Skenesborough for the arrival of his tents, provisions, &c. He therefore employed this interval in making roads through the country about St. Anne, and in clearing a passage for his troops to proceed against the enemy. This was attended with incredible toil; but all obstacles were surmounted with equal patience and resolution by the army. In short, after undergoing the utmost difficulties that could be undergone, and making every exertion that man could make, he arrived with his army before Fort Edward about the end of July. Here General Schuyler had been for some time endeavouring to recruit the shattered American forces, and had been joined by General Sinclair with the remains of his army; the garrison of Fort George also, situated upon the lake of that name, had evacuated the place, and retired to Fort Edward. However, on the approach of the royal army, they retired thence also, and formed their head-quarters at Saratoga.

Notwithstanding the great successes of the British general, the Americans shewed not the least disposition to submit, but seemed only to consider how they might make the most effectual resistance. For this purpose, the militia were every where raised and draughted to join the army at Saratoga; and such numbers of volunteers were daily added, that they soon began to recover from the terror into which they had been thrown. That they might have a commander whose abilities could be relied on, General Arnold was appointed, who repaired to Saratoga with a considerable train of artillery; but, receiving intelligence that Colonel St. Leger was proceeding with great rapidity in his expedition on the Mohawk River, he removed to Stillwater, a place
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about half-way between Saratoga and the junction of the Mohawk and Hudson's River. The colonel, in the mean time, had advanced as far as Fort Stanwix; the siege of which he pressed with great vigour. On the 6th of August, understanding that a supply of provisions, escorted by eight or nine hundred men, was on the way to the fort, he dispatched Sir John Johnson with a strong detachment to intercept it. This he did so effectually, that besides intercepting the provisions, 400 of its guard were slain, 200 taken, and the rest escaped with great difficulty. The garrison, however, were not to be intimidated by this disaster, nor by the threats or representation of St. Leger: on the contrary, they made several successful sallies, under Colonel Willet, the second in command; and this gentleman, in company with another, even ventured out of the fort; and, eluding the vigilance of the enemy, passed through them, in order to hasten the march of Arnold to their assistance.

Thus the affairs of Colonel St. Leger seemed to be in no very favourable situation, notwithstanding his late success, and they were soon totally ruined by the desertion of the Indians. They had been alarmed by the report of General Arnold's advancing with 2000 men to the relief of the fort; and, while the colonel was attempting to give them encouragement, another report was spread, that General Burgoyne had been defeated with great slaughter, and was now flying before the provincials. On this, he was obliged to retreat, with the loss of the tents, and some of the artillery and military stores.

General Burgoyne, in the mean time, notwithstanding the difficulties he had already sustained, found that he must still encounter more. The roads he had made with so much labour and pains, were destroyed, either by the wetness of the season, or by the enemy; so that the provisions he brought from Fort George could not arrive at his camp without prodigious toil. On
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hearing of the siege of Fort Stanwix by Colonel St. Leger, he determined to move forward, in hopes of inclosing the enemy betwixt his own army and that of St. Leger, or of obtaining the command of all the country between Fort Stanwix and Albany; or, at any rate, a junction with Colonel St. Leger would be effected, which could not but be attended with the most happy consequences. The only difficulty was, the want of provisions; and this it was proposed to remedy by reducing the provincial magazines at Bennington. For this purpose, Colonel Baume, a German officer of great bravery, was chosen, with a body of 500 men. The place was about twenty miles from Hudson's River; and, to support Baume's party, the whole army marched up the river's bank, and encamped almost opposite to Saratoga, with the river betwixt it and that place. An advanced party was posted at Batten Kill, between the camp and Bennington, in order to support Colonel Baume. In their way, the British seized a large supply of cattle and provisions, which were immediately sent to the camp; but the badness of the roads retarded their march so much, that intelligence of their design was sent to Bennington. Understanding now that the American force was greatly superior to his own, the colonel acquainted the general, who immediately dispatched Colonel Breyman with a party to his assistance; but, through the same causes that had retarded the march of Colonel Baume, this assistance came too late. General Starke, in the mean time, who commanded at Bennington, determined to attack the two parties separately; and, for this purpose, advanced against Colonel Baume, whom he surrounded on all sides, and attacked with the utmost violence. The troops defended themselves with great valour, but were to a man either killed or taken. Colonel Breyman, after a desperate engagement, had the good luck to effect a retreat through the darkness of the

the night, which otherwise he could not have done, as his men had expended all their ammunition.

General Burgoyne, disappointed in his attempt on Bennington, applied himself with indefatigable diligence to procure provisions from Fort George; and, having amassed a sufficient quantity to last for a month, he threw a bridge of boats over the river Hudson, which he crossed about the middle of September, encamping on the hills and plains near Saratoga. As soon as he approached the provincial army, encamped at Stillwater under General Gates, he determined to make an attack; for which purpose he put himself at the head of the central division of his army, having General Frazer and Colonel Breyman on the right, with Generals Reidesel and Philips on the left. In this position he advanced towards the enemy on the 19th of September. But the Americans did not now wait to be attacked: on the contrary, they attacked the central division with the greatest ardour; and it was not until General Philips with the artillery came up, that they could be repulsed. On this occasion, though the British troops lost only 330 in killed and wounded, and the enemy no less than 1500, the former were very much alarmed at the obstinate resolution shewn by the Americans. This did not, however, prevent the British from advancing towards the enemy, and posting themselves the next day within cannon-shot of their lines. But their allies the Indians began to desert in great numbers; and at the same time the general was in the highest degree mortified by having no intelligence of any assistance from Sir Henry Clinton, as had been stipulated. He now received a letter from him; by which he was informed that Sir Henry intended to make a diversion on the North River in his favour. This afforded but little comfort: however, he returned an answer by several trusty persons whom he dispatched different ways, stating his present distressed situation, and mentioning that the provisions
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and other necessaries he had would only enable him to hold out till the 12th of October.

In the mean time the Americans, in order to cut off the retreat of the British army, undertook an expedition against Ticonderoga; but were obliged to abandon the enterprise after having surprised all the outposts, and taken a great number of boats with some armed vessels, and a number of prisoners. The army under General Burgoyne now laboured under the greatest distresses; so that in the beginning of October he was obliged to diminish the soldiers' allowance. On the 7th of that month he determined to move towards the enemy. For this purpose he sent a body of 1500 men to reconnoitre their left wing; intending, if possible, to break through it in order to effect a retreat. This detachment had not proceeded far, when a dreadful attack was made upon the left wing of the British army, which was with great difficulty preserved by a reinforcement brought up by General Frazer, who was killed in the action. After the troops had with great difficulty regained their camp, it was furiously assaulted by General Arnold; who, notwithstanding all opposition, would have forced the entrenchments, had he not received a dangerous wound, which obliged him to retire. Thus the attack failed on the left, but on the right the camp of the German reserve was forced, Colonel Breyman killed, and his countrymen defeated, with the loss of all their artillery and baggage.

This was by far the heaviest loss the British army had sustained since the action at Bunker's Hill. The list of killed and wounded amounted to near 1200, exclusive of the Germans; but the greatest misfortune was, that the enemy had now an opening on the right and rear of the British forces, so that the army was threatened with entire destruction. This obliged General Burgoyne once more to shift his position, that the enemy might also be obliged to alter theirs. This
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was accomplished on the night of the 7th, without any loss, and all the next day he continued to offer the enemy battle; but they were now too well assured of obtaining a complete victory, by cutting off all supplies from the British, to risk another engagement. Wherefore they advanced on the right side, in order to inclose him entirely; which obliged the general to direct a retreat towards Saratoga. But the enemy had stationed a great force on the ford at Hudson's River, so that the only possibility of retreat was by securing a passage to Lake George; and, to effect this, a body of workmen were detached, with a strong guard, to repair the roads and bridges that led to Fort Edward. As soon as they were gone, the enemy seemed to menace an attack; which rendered it necessary to recall the guard, and the workmen, being of course left exposed, could not proceed. The boats, which conveyed provisions down Hudson's River, were now exposed to the continual fire of the American marksmen, who also took many of them; so that it became necessary to convey the provisions over land. In this extreme danger it was resolved to march by night to Fort Edward, forcing the passages at the fords either above or below the place; and, in order to effect this the more easily, it was resolved that the soldiers should carry their provisions on their backs, leaving behind their baggage and every other incumbrance. But, before this could be executed, intelligence was received that the enemy had raised strong entrenchments opposite to these fords, well provided with cannon, and that they had likewise taken possession of the rising ground between Fort George and Fort Edward, which in like manner, was provided with cannon.

All this time the American army was increasing by the continual arrival of militia and volunteers from all parts. Their parties extended all along the opposite bank of Hudson's River, and some had even passed it in order to watch the least movement of the British army.

army. The whole force under General Gates was computed at upwards of 16,000 men, while the army under General Burgoyne did not amount to 6000; and every part of the camp was penetrated by the grape and rifle shot of the enemy, besides discharges from their artillery, which were almost incessant. In this state of extreme distress and danger, the army continued with the greatest constancy and perseverance till the evening of the 13th of October, when, an inventory of provisions being taken, it was found that no more remained than what were sufficient to serve for three days; and, a council of war being called, it was unanimously determined that there was no method now remaining, but to treat with the enemy. In consequence of this, a negociation was opened the next day, which speedily terminated in a capitulation of the whole British army; the principal article of which was, that the troops were to have a free passage to Britain, on condition of not serving against America during the war. On this occasion, General Gates ordered his army to keep within their camp, while the British soldiers went to a place appointed for them to lay down their arms, that the latter might not have the additional mortification of being made spectacles of so melancholy an event. The number of those who surrendered at Saratoga, amounted to 5750, according to the American accounts; the list of sick and wounded left in the camp when the army retreated to Saratoga, to 528; and the number of those lost by other accidents since the taking of Ticonderoga, to near 3000. But in the evidence afterwards adduced before the house of commons by General Burgoyne, it appeared that the number of effective men in the British army at the time it surrendered, amounted only to 3499; whilst the number of the American army, according to General Gates's return, was 18,624. Thirty-five brass field-pieces, 7000 stand of arms, clothing for an equal number of soldiers, with

the tents, military chest, &c. likewise fell into the hands of the Americans.

Sir Henry Clinton, in the mean time, had sailed up the North River, and destroyed the two forts called Montgomery and Clinton, with Fort Constitution, and another place called Continental Village, where were barracks for 2000 men. Seventy large cannon were carried away, besides a number of smaller artillery, and a great quantity of stores and ammunition; a large boom and chain reaching across the river from Fort Montgomery to a point of land called St. Anthony's Nose, which cost no less than 70,000*l.* sterling, were partly destroyed and partly carried away, as was also another boom of little less value at Fort Constitution. Another attack was made by Sir James Wallace, with some frigates, and a body of land-forces under General Vaughan. The place which now suffered was named Esopus: the fortifications were destroyed, and the town itself reduced to ashes, as that called Continental Village had been before. But these successes, of whatever importance they might be, were now disregarded by both parties. They served only to irritate the Americans, flushed with their success; and they were utterly insufficient to raise the spirits of the British, who were now thrown into the utmost dismay.

Having conducted the war to this point, we shall here make digression to speak of the heroic behaviour of a lady, whose husband was made prisoner in the action of the 7th of October.

Lady Harriet Achland accompanied her husband Colonel Achland to Canada, in the beginning of the year 1776. In the course of that campaign under Sir Guy Carleton, she attached herself to the army, and traversed a vast space of country during its progress, through all the different extremities of wet, cold, and heat, and under such circumstances of difficulty and distress, that would exhibit, if properly detailed, an interesting picture of the spirit, the enterprise, and intrepidity,



J. Chapman sculp^t

LADY HARRIET ACHLAND.

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trepidity, of ancient romance, realized and regulated upon the chaste and sober principles of rational love and connubial duty.

In the opening of the campaign of 1777, when General Burgoyne took the command of the expedition from Canada to Albany, Lady Harriet again prepared to follow the fortunes of her husband. The first object of this expedition was to reduce the strong garrison of Ticonderago; and, as a severe action was expected to take place, she was restrained from offering herself to a share of the fatigue and hazard likely to ensue, by the positive injunctions of the colonel. It happened, however, that Ticonderago was abandoned by the Americans, after very little resistance, who retreated towards Castletown. They were pursued with great spirit, and overtaken by the British; when a severe and obstinate conflict took place, in which Colonel Achland was badly wounded. Lady Harriet, who had been left with other ladies at Crown Point, on hearing the news fell into the utmost anxiety and perturbation of mind, at having been prevailed upon to stay behind, when perhaps the life of her husband was suspended on a silken thread, and his recovery depending on the doubtful chance of being properly nursed and carefully attended.

In this state of anxious alarm, no arguments could console, or dangers restrain, her. She took the desperate resolution of committing herself to the mercy of the waves, in an open boat and in tempestuous weather, attended by four seamen, who, prevailed on by the offer of a great reward, took her across the Lake Champlain, at the utmost peril of their lives, to join the colonel, whom she found upon his sick bed, and in want of all those tender offices so critical a situation requires, and which, when administered by the hand of the woman we love, seldom fail of producing the happiest effects both on the body and mind.

As soon as Colonel Achland recovered, Lady Harriet would no longer be persuaded from following his

fortunes through the campaign; and at Fort Edwards or at the next camp, she purchased a two-wheel tumbril for her carriage, constructed by some of the artificers of the artillery, something similar to what the post-boys drive with the mail upon the cross-country roads in this kingdom. Colonel Achland commanded the British grenadiers, attached to that part of the army under General Fraser, which consisted of the light infantry, composed of chosen men from all the regiments, and formed the advanced corps; and were consequently always employed in harassing the rear, and pushing forward upon the enemy. Their situations were often so alert, that neither officers nor men were suffered to sleep out of their clothes. In one of these situations, a tent, in which the colonel and Lady Harriet were asleep, suddenly took fire. An orderly serjeant of grenadiers, with great hazard of suffocation, dragged out the first person he caught hold of. It proved to be the colonel. It happened in the same instant that Lady Achland, unknowing what she did, and perhaps not perfectly awake, providentially made her escape, by creeping out under the back part of the tent. The first object she saw, upon the recovery of her senses, was the colonel, on the other side; but, in the same instant, plunging into the fire again, in search of her. The serjeant again saved his officer; but not till he was very severely burned in his face, and in different parts of his body. Every thing they had with them in the tent was consumed.

This accident happened a little before General Burgoyne's army passed the Hudson's river. It neither altered the resolution nor the cheerfulness of Lady Harriet; and she continued her progress, a regular partaker of all the fatigues of the advanced corps, surrounded with peril, and an eye-witness to every scene of desolation and distress. The next call upon her fortitude was of a different nature, and infinitely more trying, as of longer suspense. On the march
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of the troops to attack the American army, on the 19th of September, 1777, the grenadiers, which Colonel Achland led into action, being liable to engage at every step, he had previously directed his lady to follow the route of the artillery and baggage, which was not exposed. At the time the action began, she found herself near a small uninhabited hut, where she alighted. When it was found the battle was becoming general and bloody, the surgeons of the hospital took possession of the same place, as the most convenient for the first care of the wounded. Few actions have been characterized by more obstinacy in attack or defence, than that which now took place. The British bayonet was repeatedly tried ineffectually, Eleven hundred British soldiers, foiled in these trials, bore incessant fire from a succession of fresh troops in superior numbers, for upwards of four hours; and, after a loss of above a third of their number, forced the enemy at last. Of a detachment of a captain and forty-eight artillery-men, thirty-six were killed or wounded; yet, in the dusk of the evening, the enemy gave way, and retired in all directions. The tribute of praise due to such troops, opposed to treble their number, will never be withheld by a generous nation; and, after the obstinate conflicts this army experienced with the Americans, let not that people, now prejudice is done away, be again stigmatized with cowardice. It were inconsistent, as well as absurd, to suppose that a people, who are the counterpart of ourselves, should not inherit similar prowess and courage.

During the whole of this arduous engagement was Lady Harriet in hearing, as well as within reach, of one incessant fire of cannon and musketry, and under the continual dread, from the post her husband filled at the head of the grenadiers, that he would be the next brought in, maimed and breathless; since he commanded in the most exposed part of the action. She had

had three female companions, the Baroness of Reidesfel, and the wives of two British officers, Major Harnage and Lieutenant Reynell; but in the event their presence served for but little comfort. Major Harnage was soon brought to the surgeons desperately wounded; and a little after came intelligence that Lieutenant Reynell was shot dead on the spot. Imagination will want no helps to form a competent idea of the distressing scene to which these amiable women were reduced.

From the date of that action, to the 7th of October following, Lady Harriet, with her usual serenity, stood prepared for new trials! and it was her lot that their severity increased with their number. The two armies were so near together, that not a night passed without firing; and sometimes concerted attacks were made upon the advanced corps of the British, in which Colonel Achland was always posted. On the 7th of October the two armies formally engaged, and a severe conflict ensued; during the whole of which Lady Harriet was exposed to the most imminent danger, and finally received the shock of her individual misfortune, mixed with the intelligence of the general calamity,—the troops were defeated—Sir Francis Clarke was killed—General Fraser expiring—and Colonel Achland desperately wounded, and taken prisoner!

The whole of the next day was a continuation of the same inauspicious beginning. Lady Harriet and her companions still partook of the common anxiety; not a tent nor a shed being left standing, except what belonged to the surgeons, their refuge was among the wounded and the dying. An awful scene, however, was yet to come; as if enough had not occurred to touch their sensibility, or excite their feelings. Early in the morning of the 8th, General Fraser breathed his last; and, with the most perfect resignation and composure, requested that he might be carried,

ried, by the soldiers of his own corps, to the great redoubt where he received his wound, and there buried. About sun-set this solemn office was put in execution; and the corpse was carried up the hill, under circumstances scarcely to be described. To arrive at the great redoubt, the procession was obliged to pass within view of the greatest part of both armies. The incessant cannonade during the solemnity—the steady attitude and unaltered voice with which the chaplain officiated, though frequently covered with dirt, which the falling of the cannon balls threw upon all sides of him and over his book—the mute but expressive mixture of sensibility and indignation upon every countenance at so unfeeling a procedure, are objects that will remain to the last of life upon the minds of every one who was present. The growing duskiness added to the awful scenery of the evening; and the whole marked a character of that interesting conjuncture, that would make one of the finest subjects, for the pencil of a master, that the field of battle ever exhibited.

This solemnity was no sooner performed, than Lady Harriet made application to General Burgoyne, entreating him to afford her such assistance as would enable her to pass to the camp of the enemy, in order to request permission of General Gates to attend her wounded husband. General Burgoyne, though sensible that patience and fortitude, in a supreme degree, are sometimes found, as well as every other virtue, in the most delicate of the sex, was nevertheless astonished at the proposal. After so long an agitation of the spirits, exhausted not only for want of rest, but absolutely for want of food, drenched in rains for several days together, that a woman should be capable of such an undertaking as delivering herself to the enemy, probably in the night, and uncertain of what hands she might first fall into, appeared an effort above human nature. The assistance she required was however readily afforded her by the general,

neral, as far as circumstances would permit. She was furnished with an open boat, a little rum, and dirty water; and General Burgoyne addressed a few little to General Gates, recommending her to his protection.

Mr. Brudenell, the chaplain in the artillery, who officiated so signally at General Frazer's funeral, readily undertook to accompany her; and with one female servant, and the colonel's valet de chambre, she rowed down the river to meet the enemy. But her distresses were not yet to end. The night was far advanced before she reached the enemy's out-posts, and the centinel was not only with difficulty restrained from firing upon them, but he would not let them pass, nor even come on-shore. In vain Mr. Brudenell offered the flag of truce, and represented the state of this extraordinary passenger. The guard, apprehensive of treachery, and punctilious to their orders, insisted on their remaining in the boat, on the spot where they then were, until the morning; and, if the boat attempted to stir from the place, he would fire into it. Lady Achland's anxiety and sufferings were thus protracted through seven long hours of darkness and cold; and her reflections upon this first reception could give her no very flattering ideas of the treatment she was afterwards to expect. But it is a tribute due to justice, at the close of this adventure, to say, that she was received and accommodated by General Gates, with all the humanity and respect that her rank, her merits, and her misfortunes, deserved; and, she was escorted to her husband, through the American army, with a generosity and respectful attention, at least equal to the philanthropy and humanity of Alexander to his illustrious captives of the Persian empire.

Let such as are affected by these circumstances of alarm, hardship, and danger, recollect that the subject of them was a woman—of the most tender
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and delicate frame—of the gentlest manners—habituated to all the soft elegances, and refined enjoyments, that attend high birth, and fortune; and far advanced in a state in which the tender cares, always due to the sex, become indispensibly necessary. Her mind rose superior to all the difficulties that surrounded her, and seemed alone formed for such trials!—The unfortunate conclusion of that campaign has been already related, and we shall now resume the thread of our history.

When the parliament met, on the 20th of November, 1777, the situation of the northern army was thought to be alarming, but the catastrophe which had then actually befallen it was little expected: the attention of the nation was chiefly drawn to the conduct of France. Notwithstanding that court reiterated her assurances of being heartily disposed to preserve the peace subsisting with Great Britain inviolate, yet delegates from the American congress were openly received by the French ministry; they were known to bear a public character from the Thirteen United Provinces, and the object of their mission could scarcely be mistaken. There is no surer test of the activity and talents of a minister, than his procuring early and certain intelligence of the measures which other powers are pursuing. The ministry in both houses of parliament avowed their belief of the pacific disposition of France, founded on the advices they received from Lord Stormont, our ambassador at that court. Notwithstanding which, on the 13th of January, 1778, a treaty of commerce between the court of Versailles and the Thirteen United States of America, was signed by the French minister and the American plenipotentiaries; and on the 6th of the following month, another treaty was executed, whereby the two powers entered into a defensive alliance.

On the 17th of February, Lord North brought two bills into the house of commons, which he meant as

a means of bringing about a reconciliation between Great Britain and her American colonies. The first declared the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his majesty's colonies, provinces, and plantations, in North America: the other enabled his majesty to appoint commissioners with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders subsisting in certain of the colonies, &c. of North America, for which purpose it appointed five commissioners, and endowed them with very extensive powers; such as, authorizing them to treat with the congress by name, as if it were a legal body; and so far to give it authenticity, as to suppose its acts and concessions binding on America; to treat with any of the provincial assemblies upon their present constitution, and with any individuals in their present civil capacities, or military commands; with General Washington, or any other officer. That they should have a power to order a suspension of arms: to suspend the operations of all laws; and to grant all sorts of pardons, immunities, and rewards. That they should have a power of restoring all the colonies, or any of them, to the form of their ancient constitution, as it stood before the troubles: and in any of these where the king nominated the governors, council, judges, and other magistrates, to nominate such at their discretion, until his farther pleasure was known.

As the deficiency of powers in the former commissioners had been objected to, whereby the congress had raised a difficulty, on pretence of the non-admission of their title to be independent states; this act, therefore, attempted to obviate that difficulty, by declaring, that, should the Americans now claim their independence on the outset, they should not be required to renounce it, until the treaty had received its final ratification by the king and parliament of

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Great Britain. The commissioners were thereby to be instructed to negotiate for some reasonable and moderate contribution, towards the common defence of the empire when re-united; but, to take away all pretence for not terminating this unhappy difference, the contribution was not to be insisted on as a *sine qua non* of the treaty; but that, if the Americans should refuse so reasonable and equitable a proposition, they were not to complain, if hereafter they did not receive support from that part of the empire, to whose expences they had refused to contribute. This was granting to America every thing she could have wished before her treaty with France took place, as it gave her not only a full exemption from all internal taxation, but also from all claims of Great Britain on their provincial assemblies, founded on past, present, or future, national expenditures, provided the colonies found themselves equal to their own defence.

The five commissioners named were, the Commander in Chief of the land and sea forces in America, the Earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and Governor Johnstone. The two bills passed both houses without a division in either. That these concessions were extorted from the ministry by the information which they had at length received, of the league entered into between France and America, can hardly be doubted; and they seem to prove, what could otherwise have hardly been supposed, that the assurances given by France, of her determination to take no part in the quarrel between Great Britain and her colonies, had gained full credit with them, until the two treaties were actually signed.

M. de Noailles, the French ambassador at the court of London, having signified to the secretary of state, that such treaties had been ratified at Paris, that they were founded on the actual independence of America, and in no respect stipulated for any exclusive commercial

cial advantages on either side, he concluded his declaration with expressing the hopes of the king his master, that this alliance would not break off that harmony which then subsisted between the two kingdoms; but at all events the French king was determined to protect the lawful commerce of his subjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag.

Messages to both houses of parliament were delivered from his majesty on the 17th of March, 1778, accompanied with the above declaration; whereupon addresses were presented, full of the warmest assurances of support, and inveighing against the unjust and unprovoked conduct of France. The French ambassador received notice to quit the kingdom, and Lord Stormont was recalled from Paris. No declaration of war followed on either side, although great preparations were made: sixty thousand seamen, including eleven thousand marines, were voted for the service of 1778. The whole expence of the navy for that year, amounted to upwards of five millions.

The Americans, in the mean time, assiduously employed their agents at the courts of Spain, Vienna, Prussia, and Tuscany, in order, if possible, to conclude alliances with them, or at least to procure an acknowledgment of their independency. As it had been reported that Britain intended to apply for assistance to Russia, the American commissioners were enjoined to use their utmost influence with the German princes to prevent such auxiliaries from marching through their territories, and to endeavour to procure the recal of the German troops already sent to America; and, should Great Britain, by their joint endeavours, be dispossessed of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia, these territories should be divided betwixt the two nations, and Great Britain be totally excluded from the fishery. The proposals to the Spanish court were, that, in case they should think proper to espouse the quarrel, the American
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States should assist in reducing Pensacola under the dominion of Spain, provided their subjects were allowed the free navigation of the river Mississippi, and the use of the harbour of Pensacola; and they farther offered, that, if agreeable to Spain, they would declare war against Portugal, should that power expel the American ships from its ports.

In the mean time, the troops under General Burgoyne were preparing to embark for Britain, according to the convention at Saratoga; but, to their utter surprise, congress positively refused to allow them to depart, under pretence that some sinister designs were harboured on the part of Britain, and that they only wanted an opportunity to join the other troops at Philadelphia or New York.

The season for action was now approaching; and congress was indefatigable in its preparations for a new campaign, which it was confidently said would be the last. Among other methods taken for this purpose, it was recommended to all the young gentlemen of the colonies to form themselves into bodies of cavalry to serve at their own expence during the war. General Washington, at the same time, in order to remove all incumbrances from his army, lightened the baggage as much as possible, by substituting sacks and portmanteaus in place of chests and boxes, and using pack-horses instead of waggon.

On the other hand, the British army, expecting to be speedily reinforced by 20,000 men, thought of nothing but concluding the war according to their wishes before the end of the campaign. It was with the utmost concern, as well as indignation, therefore, that they received the news of Lord North's conciliatory bill. It was universally looked upon as a national disgrace; and some even tore the cockades from their hats, and trampled them under their feet as a token of their indignation. By the colonists it was received with indifference. The British commissioners

tioners endeavoured to make it as public as possible; and the congress, as formerly, ordered it to be printed in all the newspapers. On this occasion Governor Tryon inclosed several copies of the bill to General Washington in a letter, entreating that he would allow them to be circulated; to which that general returned for answer a copy of a newspaper in which the bill was printed, together with the resolutions of congress upon it. These were, That whoever presumed to make a separate agreement with Britain should be deemed a public enemy; that the United States could not with any propriety keep correspondence with the commissioners until their independence was acknowledged, and the British fleets and armies removed from America. At the same time, the colonies were warned not to suffer themselves to be deceived into security by any offers that might be made; but to use their utmost endeavours to send their quotas with all diligence into the field. The individuals with whom the commissioners conversed on the subject of the conciliatory bill, generally returned for answer, that the day of reconciliation was past; and the haughtiness of Britain had extinguished all filial regard in the breasts of the Americans.

About this time also Mr. Silas Deane arrived from France with two copies of the treaty of commerce and alliance to be signed by congress. Advices of the most pleasing nature were also received from various parts, representing in the most favourable light the dispositions of the European powers; all of whom, it was said, wished to see the independence of America settled upon the most firm and permanent basis. Considering the situation of matters with the colonists at this time, therefore, it is no wonder that the commissioners found themselves unable to accomplish the errand on which they came. Their proposals were utterly rejected, themselves treated as spies, and all intercourse with them interdicted.

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*But, before any final answer could be obtained from congress, Sir Henry Clinton had taken the resolution of evacuating Philadelphia. Accordingly, on the 10th of June, after having made all necessary preparations, the army marched out of the city, and crossed the Delaware before noon with all its baggage and other incumbrances. General Washington, apprised of this design, had dispatched expresses into the Jerseys with orders to collect the forces that could be assembled, to obstruct the march of the enemy. After various movements on both sides, Sir Henry Clinton, with the royal army, arrived on the 27th of June at a place called *Freehold*; where, judging that the enemy would attack him, he encamped in a very strong situation. Here General Washington determined to make an attack as soon as the army had again begun its march. The night was spent in making the necessary preparations, and General Lee with his division was ordered to be ready by day-break. But Sir Henry Clinton, justly apprehending that the chief object of the enemy was the baggage, committed it to the care of General Knyphausen, whom he ordered to set out early in the morning, while he followed with the rest of the army. The attack was accordingly made; but the British general had taken such care to arrange his troops properly, and so effectually supported his forces when engaged with the Americans, that the latter not only made no impression, but were with difficulty preserved from a total defeat by the arrival of General Washington with the whole army. The British troops effected their retreat with the loss of 300 men, of whom many died through fatigue. In this action General Lee was charged by General Washington with disobedience and misconduct in retreating before the British army: he was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to a temporary suspension from his command. After they had arrived at Sandy Hook, a bridge of boats was by Lord Howe's directions thrown over

over the channel which separated the island from the main land, and the troops were conveyed on-board the fleet; after which they sailed to New York. After sending some light detachments to watch the enemy's motions, General Washington marched towards the North River, where a great force had been collected to join him, and where it was now expected that some capital operations would take place.

In the mean time, France had set about her preparations for the assistance of the Americans. On the 14th of April, Count d'Estaing sailed from Toulon with a strong squadron of ships of the line and frigates, and arrived on the coast of Virginia in the beginning of July, while the British fleet was employed in conveying the forces from Sandy Hook to New York. It consisted of one ship of 90 guns, one of 80, six of 74, and four of 64, besides several large frigates; and, exclusive of its complement of sailors, had 6000 marines and soldiers on-board. To oppose this, the British had only six ships of 64 guns, three of 50, and two of 40, with some frigates and sloops. Notwithstanding this inferiority, however, the British admiral posted himself so advantageously, and shewed such superior courage and skill, that d'Estaing did not think proper to attack him. He therefore remained at anchor four miles off Sandy Hook, till the 22d of July, without effecting any thing more than the capture of some vessels, which, through ignorance of his arrival, fell into his hands.

At this time, the British fleet was in a very weak condition, but the valour and experience of the officers seemed in some measure to compensate that defect. The chief command was given to Admiral Keppel, who had served with uncommon reputation during the last war. Admirals Sir Robert Harland and Sir Hugh Palliser served under him, both of them officers of undoubted courage and capacity. Arriving at Portsmouth towards the end of March, 1778, Admiral
Keppel

Keppel exerted himself with so much industry and diligence, that, exclusive of those ships which it was found necessary to dispatch to the coast of North America under Admiral Byron, a fleet of twenty sail of the line was got in complete readiness by the beginning of June, and ten more in a forward state of preparation. At the head of this fleet Admiral Keppel sailed from Portsmouth on the 13th of June, in order to protect the vast number of commercial shipping expected from all parts of the world, and at the same time to watch the motion of the French fleet at Brest.

On the arrival of the British fleet off the coast of France, two French frigates approached it, in order to make their observations. These were the *Licorne* of 32 guns, and the *Belle Poule* of 26. In consequence of a signal to give chase, the *Milford* frigate overtook the *Licorne* towards the close of day, and requested the French captain to come under the British admiral's stern; upon his refusal, a ship of the line came up, and compelled him to come into the fleet. Next morning, the *Licorne* seeming by her motions to be altering her course, a shot was fired across her way as a signal for keeping it. Hereupon she discharged a broadside and a volley of small arms into the *America* of 64 guns that lay close to her, and immediately struck. The behaviour of the French captain was the more astonishing, as Lord Longford, captain of the *America*, was at that instant engaged in conversation with him in terms of civility; but, though such behaviour certainly merited severe chastisement, no hostile return was made.

The *Arethusa* of 26 guns, commanded by Captain Marshal, with the *Alert* cutter, was meanwhile in pursuit of the *Belle Poule*, that was also accompanied by a schooner, and the chase was continued till they were both out of sight of the fleet. On his coming up, he informed the French captain of his orders to bring

him to the admiral, and requested his compliance. This being refused, the *Arethusa* fired a shot across the *Belle Poule*, which she returned with a discharge of her broadside. The engagement thus begun, continued more than two hours with uncommon warmth and fury. The *Belle Poule* was greatly superior not only in number, but in the weight of her metal: her guns were all twelve-pounders; those of the *Arethusa* only six: notwithstanding this inferiority, she maintained so desperate a fight, that the French frigate suffered a much greater loss of men than the British. The slain and wounded on-board the former, amounted, by their own account, to near 100; on-board the latter they were not half that proportion.

Captain Fairfax in the *Alert*, during the engagement between the two frigates, attacked the French schooner, which being of much the same force, the dispute continued two hours with great bravery on both sides, when she struck to the English cutter.

The *Arethusa* received so much damage, that she became almost unmanageable; the captain endeavoured to put her into such a position, as to continue the engagement; but was unable to do it. Being at the same time upon the enemy's coast, and close on the shore, the danger of grounding in such a situation obliged him to act with the more caution, as it was midnight. The *Belle Poule*, in the mean time, stood into a small bay surrounded with rocks, where she was protected from all attacks: she had suffered so much, that the captain, apprehending that she could not stand another engagement, had resolved, in case he found himself in danger of one, to run her aground; but her situation prevented any such attempt; and, as soon as it was day-light, a number of boats came out from shore, and towed her into a place of safety. Notwithstanding the evident and great superiority on the side of the French, this action was extolled by them as a proof of singular bravery, and

and the account of it received with as much triumph as if it had been a victory.

On the 18th of June, the day following the engagement with the *Belle Poule*, another frigate fell in with the British fleet; and was captured by the admiral's orders, on account of the behaviour of the *Licorne*.

The capture of these French frigates produced such intelligence to the admiral, as proved of the utmost importance, at the same time that it was highly alarming. He was informed that the fleet at Brest consisted of thirty-two ships of the line and twelve frigates. This was in every respect a most fortunate discovery, as he had no more with him than twenty ships of the line and three frigates. The superiority of the enemy being such as neither skill nor courage could oppose in his present circumstances; and as the consequences of a defeat must have been fatal to this country, he thought himself bound in prudence to return to Portsmouth for a reinforcement. Here he arrived on the 27th of June, and remained there till the ships from the Mediterranean, and the Spanish and Portuguese trade and the summer fleet from the West Indies, coming home, brought him a supply of seamen, and enabled him to put to sea again, with an addition of ten ships of the line. But still there was a great deficiency of frigates, owing to the great numbers that were on the American station, and the necessity of manning the ships of the line preferably to all others.

In the mean time, the preparations at Brest being fully completed, the French fleet put to sea on the 8th of July. It consisted of thirty-two sail of the line, besides a large number of frigates. Count d'Orvilliers commanded in chief. The other principal officers in this fleet were the Counts Duchaffault, de Guichen, and de Grasse; Monsieur de Rochechoart, and Monsieur de la Motte Piquet. A prince of the blood royal had also been sent to serve on-board of this fleet; this was the Duke of Chartres, son and

heir to the Duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood royal of France in the collateral line. He commanded one of the divisions in quality of admiral.

On the 9th of July, the British fleet sailed out of Portsmouth in three divisions; the first commanded by Sir Robert Harland, the third by Sir Hugh Palliser, and the centre by Admiral Keppel, accompanied by Admiral Campbell, an officer of great courage and merit. The French had been informed that the British fleet was greatly inferior to their own; which was but too true at the time when they received this information. Being yet unapprised of the reinforcement it was returned with, the admiral sailed at first in quest of it, intending to attack it while in the weak condition it had been represented to him.

As the British admiral was equally intent on coming to action as soon as possible, they were not long before they met. On the 23d of July they came in sight. But the appearance of the British ships soon convinced the French admiral of his mistake, and he immediately determined to avoid an engagement no less cautiously than he had eagerly fought it before. Herein he was favoured by the approach of night: all that could be done on the part of the British was to form the line of battle in expectation that the enemy would do the same. During the night the wind changed so favourably for the French, as to give them the weather-gage. This, putting the choice of coming to action, or of declining it, entirely in their own power, deprived the British admiral of the opportunity of forcing them to engage as he had proposed.

During the space of four days, the French had the option of coming to action; but constantly exerted their utmost care and industry to avoid it. The British fleet continued the whole time beating up against the wind, evidently with a resolution to attack them. But, notwithstanding the vigour and skill manifested in this pursuit, the British admiral had the

mortification

mortification to see his endeavours continually eluded by the vigilance and precaution of the enemy not to lose the least advantage that wind and weather could afford.

The chase lasted till the 27th of July. Between ten and eleven in the morning, an alteration of wind and weather occasioned several motions in both fleets, that brought them, unintentionally on the part of the French, and chiefly through the dexterous management of the British admiral, so near each other, that it was no longer in their power to decline an engagement. They were then in lat. 48. 38. Ushant distant 27 leagues E. half S. Both fleets were on the same tack: had they so remained, the British fleet on coming up with the French would have had an opportunity of a fair engagement, ship to ship; which would hardly have failed of proving very decisive: but this was a manner of combating quite contrary to the wishes of the French admiral. Instead of receiving the British fleet in this position, as soon as he found that an action must ensue, he put his ships on the contrary tack, that, sailing in opposite directions, they might only fire at each other as they passed by. By this means a close and sidelong action would be effectually evaded. As soon as the van of the British fleet, consisting of Sir Robert Harland's division, came up, they directed their fire upon it; but at too great a distance to make any impression: the fire was not returned by the British ships till they came close up to the enemy, and were sure of doing execution. In this manner they all passed close along-side each other in opposite directions, making a very heavy and destructive fire.

The centre division of the British line having passed the rearmost ships of the enemy, the first care of the admiral was to effect a renewal of the engagement, as soon as the ships of the different fleets, yet in action, had got clear of each other respectively. Sir Robert Harland,

Harland, with some ships of his division, had already tacked, and stood towards the French; but the remaining part of the fleet had not yet tacked, and some were dropped to leeward, and repairing the damages they had received in the action. His own ship the *Victory* had suffered too much to tack about instantly; and, had he done it, he would have thrown the ships astern of him into disorder. As soon as it was practicable, however, the the *Victory* wore, and steered again upon the enemy before any other ship of the centre division: of which not above three or four were able to do the same. The other ships not having recovered their stations near enough to support each other on a renewal of action, in order to collect them more readily for that purpose, he made the signal for the line of battle a-head. It was now three in the afternoon; but the ships of the British fleet had not sufficiently regained their stations to engage. The *Victory* lay nearest the enemy, with the four ships above-mentioned, and seven more of Sir Robert Harland's division. These twelve were the only ships in any condition for immediate service; of the others belonging to the centre and to Sir Robert Harland's division, three were a great way astern, and five at a considerable distance to leeward, much disabled in their rigging.

Sir Hugh Palliser who commanded the rear division during the time of action, in which he behaved with signal bravery, came of course the last out of it; and in consequence of the admiral's signal for the line, was to have led the van on renewing the fight; but his division was upon a contrary tack, and was entirely out of the line. The French, on the other hand, expecting directly to be re-attacked, had closed together in tacking, and were now spreading themselves into a line of battle. On discovering the position of the British ships that were fallen to leeward, they immediately stood towards them, in order to cut

cut them off. This obliged the admiral to wear and steer athwart the enemy's foremost division, in order to secure them; directing, at the same time, Sir Robert Harland to form his division in a line astern, in order to face the enemy till Sir Hugh Palliser could come up, and enable him to act more effectually.

The admiral, in moving to the protection of the leeward ships, was now drawing near the enemy. As Sir Hugh Palliser still continued to windward, he made a signal for all the ships in that position to come into his wake: Sir Hugh Palliser repeated this signal; but it was unluckily mistaken by the ships of his division as an order to come into his own wake, which they did accordingly; and as he still remained in his position, they retained theirs of course.

Sir Robert Harland was now directed to take his station ahead, and the signal repeated for Sir Hugh Palliser's division to come into his wake; but this signal was not complied with, any more than a verbal message to that purpose, and other subsequent signals for that division's coming into its station in the line, before it was too late to re-commence any operations against the enemy.

In the night, the French took the determination to put it wholly out of the power of the British fleet to attack them a second time. For this purpose, three of their swiftest sailing vessels were fixed in the stations occupied during the day by the three admiral ships of the respective divisions, with lights at the mast-heads, to deceive the British fleet into the belief that the French fleet kept its position with an intent to fight next morning. Protected by this stratagem, the remainder of the French drew off unperceived and unsuspected during the night, and retired with all speed towards Brest: they continued this retreat the whole course of the following day, and entered the port in the evening. Their departure was not discovered till break of day; but it was too late to pursue them, as they were only discernible from
the

the mast-heads of the largest ships in the British fleet. The three ships that had remained with the lights were pursued: but the vessels that chased them were so unable to overtake them from the damages they had received in the preceding day's engagement, that they were quickly recalled; and the admiral made the best of his way to Plymouth, as being the nearest port, in order to put his fleet into a proper condition to return in quest of the enemy.

The killed and wounded on-board the British fleet amounted to somewhat more than 500; but the French, it has been asserted on grounds of great credibility, lost 3000. This appears the less improbable, from the consideration that the French, in all their naval engagements, aim principally at the mast and rigging, and the British chiefly at the body of the ships.

On the 23d of August, Admiral Keppel sailed again with twenty-eight sail of the line, and was joined on the 11th of September by the Defence, Suffolk, and Egmont. In this cruise nothing was seen of the French fleet, which having gone out of Brest on the 18th of August, returned the 18th of September, having cruised during that time off Cape Finisterre, and in that direction. The British fleet twice chased the *Reflechi*, and made prize of several West-Indiamen, bound to Nantes and Bourdeaux. The *Porcupine*, Captain Finch, and Fox, Captain Windsor, being dispatched to reconnoitre, the former fell in with and took the *Modeste* East-Indiaman, and the latter was taken by the *Juno* and carried into Brest. Another of our frigates called the *Minerva*, was also taken and carried into the same port. Two more French East-Indiamen were taken in the course of the summer; one of which was named the *Gaston*, and was taken by two Liverpool privateers; the other *Les Deux Amis*, taken by the *Knight* privateer from the same place.

No

No sooner had a rupture with France become inevitable, than Admiral Byron was sent to America with a powerful fleet, but badly equipped and provided. This armament was appointed to repair to New-York, but a long series of tempestuous weather threatened the whole fleet with destruction, the ships were separated, some returned to England little better than wrecks, others with great difficulty reached different harbours on the widely-extended coast of America. Some of these ships joined Lord Howe at New York, and proved of great service. St. Pierre and Miquelon were taken from the French by Commodore Evans, being sent by Admiral Montague, who commanded at Halifax. To counterbalance which, the Marquis de Bouille, governor of Martinico, invaded Dominica, which was very ill prepared for a defence, not having one hundred soldiers on the island, whilst two hundred and sixty cannon, and an ample provision of warlike stores, served instead of contributing to the defence of the place, only to heighten the value of its conquest.

On the American continental coast, the British fleet was not inactive, and great numbers of prizes rewarded the vigilance of the cruisers. An expedition up the Delaware under Major Maitland and Captain Henry, of the navy, proved very successful; no fewer than forty American armed vessels being set on fire, between Philadelphia and Trenton, two of which were frigates, mounting twenty-eight and thirty-two guns. At the same time Lieutenant-colonel Campbell and Captain Clayton, of the navy, proceeding from Rhode Island, destroyed one hundred and twenty-five boats in Hickamanet river.

No sooner was the army safely reposed at New York, as mentioned before, p. 78, than the British cruisers gave notice that the French fleet which was sailed from Toulon, and was commanded by the Count d'Estaing, had appeared off the coast of Virginia. Had he reached that continent whilst the army was on its march, he

might not only have effected the entire destruction of the British fleet under Lord Howe, but the army under Sir Henry Clinton would have been unable to subsist, as the French admiral, by being master at sea, would cut off all supplies, whereby the southern army would have been gradually reduced to the forlorn condition into which the northern one was brought eight months before. Had the fleet and army at that time been stationed on the Delaware and at Philadelphia, the consequences of an attack would have been no less fatal; but storms and contrary winds had so long detained this fleet, armed with destruction, that all the train of evils which might have exalted the naval power of France on the ruin of this country, were happily prevented.

Still, however, d'Estaing might have reaped advantages which he neglected: he loitered in Chesapeake-bay and the Delaware, instead of proceeding immediately to New York; this delay gave Lord Howe an opportunity of preparing for his reception; and on the 11th of July he anchored off Sandy-hook, with fifteen sail, consisting of a ninety and eighty gun ship, six of seventy-four, three of sixty-four, one of fifty, and three large frigates, with eleven thousand men on-board. On the other hand the British fleet under Lord Howe consisted of six 64-gun ships, three of 50, and two of 40 guns.

The ardour which was universally shewn in repelling this unexpected attack, gave the most flattering testimony of the high esteem and even veneration in which the commanders were held, and as the approach to New York was obstructed by a bar, the French assailant had no small difficulty to surmount. Had the attempt been made the conflict would have been dreadful, and might have surpassed any thing known in naval history; but the talents of d'Estaing were better displayed in actions of the *petite guerre*, than in such important attempts.

D'Estaing

D'Estaing continued at anchor until the 21st, when, without making any attack, he quitted the coast, and bore away to the southward, after having made many valuable prizes during his short continuance on that station. Lord Howe was soon after reinforced with the *Renown*, of 50 guns, from the West-Indies; and on the 28th the *Raisonable*, of 64 guns, arrived from Halifax; and two days after the *Cornwall* of 74, one of Admiral Byron's fleet, and *Centurion* of 50 guns, came in from the same place.

This seasonable accession of strength determined the admiral to sail out in quest of the French fleet, which, by this time, was known to have directed its course to Rhode Island. He left New York on the 6th, and arrived on the 9th of August in the evening, at Point Judith, about three leagues from Newport, where d'Estaing had arrived on the 29th of July.

The plan concerted between the Americans and their allies, was, that a body of provincials should make a descent on the northern extremity of Rhode Island, whilst the French fleet assailed the town of Newport, and the British lines contiguous to the harbour. General Sullivan commanded these troops, which amounted to about ten thousand men, drawn from the northern colonies. As the operations of the French fleet were regulated by those of the army on the land, d'Estaing continued inactive until Sullivan was in a condition to pass over from the continent to the northern end of the island. On the 30th of July, the *Kingfisher* sloop, of 18 guns, and two armed vessels, were set on fire, and a few days after four frigates of 32 guns each, (the *Orpheus*, *Flora*, *Juno*, and *Lark*,) were likewise destroyed. On the 8th of August, the French fleet, which had continued at anchor from its first appearance, about three miles from the mouth of the harbour, stood in, under an easy sail, cannonading the batteries and town as they passed, and receiving their fire, without any material effect on either side.

They anchored above the town, between Goat-island and Conanicut, but nearer to the latter, on which both the French and Americans had parties.

The force under Lord Howe was greatly inferior to that of the French in weight of metal, but superior both in number of ships and in their condition; they were also well manned, and commanded by officers of tried bravery and skill. On the arrival of the British fleet, the enemy was so dispersed, that many have thought it would have been no rash act immediately to have attacked them. Only ten sail of the line had entered the harbour, the other two ships of the French line were up the Narraganset passage; and two of their frigates in the Seaconnet passage.

On the 10th, the wind changed to the north-east, which enabled d'Estaing to sail out in full force, having twelve two-decked ships; and as he possessed the weather-gage, Lord Howe deemed it imprudent to attack him whilst joining accidental advantages to his superior force. Every manœuvre which consummate seamanship could suggest was put in practice, to gain the wind, but all attempts were baffled by the counter movements of the enemy, and as the wind continued fixed in the same quarter, the whole of the 11th was spent in tackings. The admiral despairing of bettering his situation, about four o'clock in the evening threw out a signal for the ships to close to the centre, and form in line of battle a-head, and in that position he waited the approach of the enemy, who was between two and three miles distant.

Lord Howe, in conducting the operations of the fleet under his command, adopted a mode of conduct altogether unknown to former naval commanders, and which indeed none but those of acknowledged bravery could adopt, without incurring imputations on their character: he removed from the *Eagle* of 64 guns, to the *Apollo* frigate, that he might be better situated for directing the subsequent operations of the
squadron.

squadron. A sea-fight of a very singular kind was now about to be entered upon, in which the weight of metal was to be opposed to the dextrous working of smaller ships, more numerous, and possessing all the advantages of British seamanship. The brilliancy of Lord Howe's courage had appeared on many trying occasions; it was generally acknowledged, that in the naval line he had not a superior; a most rare opportunity now presented itself for the display of his professional skill. Hitherto, during the American war, the naval commander in chief had no opportunity of eminently distinguishing himself; this was the precise point of time for doing it; but, whilst the battle was thus put in array, a strong gale of wind arose, which in a short time increased to a violent tempest that continued for near forty-eight hours. This entirely changed the nature of the conflict, and both fleets had to contend with the enraged elements, instead of each other. The storm soon dispersed the ships of both squadrons, and threatened them with destruction. The Apollo, with the admiral on-board, sprung her main-mast, and lost her foremast; he therefore went on-board the Phoenix as soon as the weather became more moderate; that frigate he soon after quitted for the Centurion; but on seeing ten sail of the French squadron at anchor, about twenty five leagues eastward of Cape May, his lordship left the Centurion in a proper station to watch their motions, and to direct any British ships that might arrive; and, again going on-board the Phoenix, arrived off Sandy-hook on the evening of the 17th, that place being the rendezvous appointed in case of a separation.

The only material damage sustained by the British fleet was, the Cornwall springing her main mast, and the Raifonable her bowsprit, besides the damage already mentioned to the Apollo. The French suffered greatly; the Languedoc and Tonnant, their most capital ships, being dismasted, and others much damaged.

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The first of these, d'Estaing's own ship, carrying 90 guns, when reduced to this condition, was met on the evening of the 13th by the *Renown* of 50 guns, Captain Dawson, who attacked her with such fury as well as judgment and advantage, that the count was in imminent danger of becoming once more a prisoner to the English. After he had poured several broadsides close into his antagonist, and had shot away her rudder, he lay to, as close as possible, for the night, intending to renew the attack in the morning, and considering her as little less than a certain prize. But in this expectation he was unfortunately disappointed by the appearance of six French men of war, who gave him chase, and rescued their commander and his ship from the fate which awaited them.

Nor was Captain Dawson the only officer who seized this favourable opportunity of attacking large ships with those of inferior force. Commodore Hotham of the *Preston*, a 50-gun ship, fell in with the *Tonnant* of 80 guns, which he attacked with great intrepidity, about the same time that the *Renown* was engaging the *Languedoc*; but night intervening, he too was obliged to desist, and in the morning his expected prize was rescued by the appearance of the French fleet.

These occurrences, though productive of no national benefit, displayed the bravery and skill of our officers and seamen to great advantage. The national character was yet farther shewn in the conduct of Captain Raynor in the *Isis* of 50 guns. This ship had performed signal services during the war: by its seasonable arrival at Quebec, when that city was blockaded by Arnold in 1776, General Carleton was enabled to drive away the enemy; the next year she was no less serviceable in opening the navigation of the Delaware, by silencing the American batteries. This ship was now chased by the *Cesar*, a French 74-gun ship. The Frenchman was much the better sailer, and each ship had escaped unhurt from the tempest. Captain

tain Raynor found it impossible to avoid an action, and to sustain a fight with an enemy so much superior seemed hardly practicable. The brave commander was not however intimidated by this disparity of force; a desperate engagement ensued, which continued for an hour and half, within pistol-shot. By that time the *Ifis* had gained so great a superiority, that the French ship thought proper to put before the wind, leaving the *Ifis* with her masts and rigging so damaged as to be unable to pursue her. She had only two men killed and five wounded.

The gallantry of the British commander in this action was only equalled by his modesty, in the account which he wrote of it. His admiral indeed in some measure supplied that defect, by acquainting the admiralty, that the honour of the day was not more owing to the resolution of the captain, or the intrepidity of his officers and crew, than to the professional skill and ability of the former.

In this storm, the *Senegal* sloop and *Thunder* bomb, being separated from the British fleet, were taken by the French. The *Mermaid* was forced ashore or lost some time before, when the French fleet first appeared off the *Delaware*.

As the British ships sustained no great damage by the storm, and were all re-assembled by the 17th of August, and had been joined by the *Monmouth*, a 64-gun ship of Admiral Byron's squadron, it is difficult to account for their long continuance at *Sandy-hook*; especially as it was well known that the enemy had re-assembled off *Rhode-island* on the 20th, and had sailed from thence two days after, for *Boston*. This delay in putting to sea, saved the French fleet from destruction. Lord Howe entered *Boston* bay on the 30th in full force, and found the enemy had preceded him in their arrival in port.

Lord Howe now resigned his command to Rear-admiral Gambier, during the absence of a superior officer,

officer, assigning as a reason for it, his bad state of health; and arrived at Portsmouth in the *Eagle* on the 25th of October.

Meanwhile, Sir Henry Clinton proceeded to the relief of Rhode Island, and arrived there on the 31st of August, when finding the Americans had evacuated it, he proceeded with some troops to New London, from whence he detached Major-general Grey to Bedford and Fair Haven; who there destroyed great quantities of stores, and seventy sail of ships, some of which were privateers, among them were eight sail of large vessels, from two hundred to three hundred tons, most of them prizes, and three had been taken by Count d'Estaing's fleet. Proceeding to a fertile and populous island called Martha's Vineyard, they carried off ten thousand sheep and three hundred black cattle. Another expedition took place up the North River, under Lord Cornwallis and General Knyphausen; the principal event of which was the destruction of a regiment of American cavalry, known by the name of Washington's light-horse. A third expedition was directed to Little Egg harbour, in New Jersey, a place noted for privateers, the destruction of which was its principal intention. It was conducted by Captains Ferguson and Collins, and ended in the destruction of the enemy's vessels, as well as of the place itself. At the same time part of another body of American troops, called Pulaski's legion, was surprised, and a great number of them put to the sword.

The Americans had in the beginning of the year projected the conquest of West Florida; and Captain Willing, with a party of resolute men, had made a successful incursion into the country. This awakened the attention of the British to the southern colonies, and an expedition against them was resolved on. Georgia was the place of destination; and, the more effectually to ensure success, Colonel Campbell, with a sufficient force, under convoy of some ships of war

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commanded by Commodore Hyde Parker, embarked at New York, while General Prevost, who commanded in East Florida, was directed to set out with all the forces he could collect. The armament from New York arrived off the coast of Georgia in December; and, though the enemy were strongly posted in an advantageous situation near the shore, the British troops made good their landing, and advanced towards Savannah the capital of the province. That same day they defeated the provincials who opposed them; and took possession of the town with such celerity, that the Americans had not time to execute a resolution they had taken of setting it on fire. In ten days the whole province of Georgia was reduced, Sunbury alone excepted; and this was also brought under subjection by General Prevost in his march northward. Every proper method was taken to secure the tranquillity of the country; and rewards were offered for apprehending committee and assembly men, or such as they judged most inimical to the British interest.

On the arrival of General Prevost, the command of the troops devolved on him as the senior officer; and the conquest of Carolina was next projected. That country contained a great number of friends to government, who now eagerly embraced the opportunity of declaring themselves; many of the inhabitants of Georgia had joined the royal standard; and there was not in the province any provincial forces capable of opposing the efforts of the regular and well-disciplined troops. On the news of General Prevost's approach, the loyalists assembled, imagining themselves able to stand their ground until their allies should arrive; but in this they were disappointed. The Americans attacked and defeated them, with the loss of half their number. The remainder retreated into Georgia; and, after undergoing many hardships, at last effected a junction with the British forces.

In the mean time, General Lincoln, with a considerable

able reinforcement of American troops, had encamped within twenty miles of the town of Savannah; and another strong party had posted themselves at a place called Briar's Creek, farther up the river of the same name. Thus the extent of the British government was likely to be circumscribed within very narrow bounds. General Prevost therefore determined to dislodge the party at Briar's Creek: and the latter, trusting to their strong situation, and being remiss in their guard, suffered themselves to be surprised on the 30th of March, 1779; when they were utterly routed, with the loss of four hundred killed and taken, besides a great number drowned in the river or the swamps. The whole artillery, stores, baggage, and almost all the arms, of this unfortunate party, were taken, so that they could no more make any stand; and thus a communication was opened with those places in Carolina where the royalists chiefly resided.

The victory at Briar's Creek, proved of considerable service to the British cause. Great numbers of the loyalists joined the army, and considerably increased its force. Hence General Prevost was enabled to stretch his posts farther up the river, and to guard all the principal passes: so that General Lincoln was reduced to a state of inaction; and at last moved off towards Augusta, in order to protect the provincial assembly, which was obliged to sit in that place, the capital being in the hands of the British. Lincoln had no sooner quitted his post, than it was judged proper by the British general to put in execution the grand scheme which had been meditated against Carolina. Many difficulties indeed lay in his way. The river Savannah was so swelled by excessive rains, that it seemed impassable; the opposite shore was so full of swamps and marshes, that no army could march over it without the greatest difficulty; and, to render the passage still more difficult, General Moultrie was left with a considerable body of troops to oppose the enemy's attempts.

tempts. Yet, in spite of every opposition, the constancy and perseverance of the British forces prevailed. General Moultrie was defeated, and obliged to retire towards Charlestown; and the victorious army, after having waded through the marshes for some time, arrived in an open country, through which they pursued their march with great rapidity towards the capital; while General Lincoln remained in a state of security at Augusta, vainly imagining that the obstacles he had left in the way could not be surmounted.

Intelligence of the danger to which Charlestown was exposed, roused the American general from his lethargy. A chosen body of infantry, mounted on horseback for the greater expedition, was dispatched before him; while Lincoln himself followed with all the forces he could collect. General Moultrie too, with the troops he had brought from the Savannah, and some others he had collected since his retreat from thence, had taken possession of all the avenues leading to Charlestown, and prepared for a vigorous defence. But all opposition proved ineffectual. The Americans were defeated in every encounter; and, retreating continually, allowed the British army to come within cannon-shot of Charlestown on the 12th of May. The town was now summoned to surrender; and the inhabitants would gladly have agreed to observe a neutrality during the rest of the war, and would also have engaged for the rest of the province. But, these terms not being accepted, they made preparations for a vigorous defence. It was not in the power of the British commander at this time to make an attack with any prospect of success. His artillery was not of sufficient weight; there were no ships to support him by sea; and General Lincoln, advancing rapidly with a superior army, threatened to inclose him between his own forces and the town; so that, should he fail in his first attempt, certain destruction would be the consequence. For these reasons he withdrew his army from before the

town, and took possession of two islands called St. James's and St. John's, lying to the southward; where, having waited for some time, he was reinforced by the arrival of two frigates. With these he determined to make himself master of Port Royal, an island possessed of an excellent harbour, and many other natural advantages, from its situation also commanding the sea-coast from Charlestown to Savannah River. The American general, however, did not allow this to be accomplished without opposition. Perceiving his opponent had occupied an advantageous post on St. John's island, preparatory to his enterprise against Port Royal, he attempted, on the 20th of June, to dislodge him from it; but, after an obstinate attack, the provincials were, as usual, obliged to retire with considerable loss. On this occasion the success of the British was, in a great measure, owing to an armed float; which galled the right flank of the enemy so effectually, that they could direct their efforts only against the strongest part of the lines, which proved impregnable. This disappointment was instantly followed by the loss of Port Royal, which General Prevost took possession of, and put his troops into proper stations, waiting for the arrival of such further reinforcements as were necessary for the intended attack on Charlestown.

In the mean time, Count d'Estaing, who put into Boston harbour to refit, had used his utmost efforts to ingratiate himself with the inhabitants of that city. Zealous also in the cause of his master, he had published a proclamation to be dispersed through Canada, inviting the people to return to their original friendship with France, and declaring, that all who renounced their allegiance to Great Britain should certainly find a protector in the French king. All his endeavours, however, proved insufficient to produce any revolution, or even to form a party of any consequence among the Canadians.

As soon as the French admiral had refitted his fleet, he

he took the opportunity, while that of Admiral Byron had been shattered by a storm, of sailing to the West-Indies. During his operations there, the Americans having represented his conduct as totally unserviceable to them, he received orders from Europe to assist the colonies with all possible speed. He therefore directed his course towards Georgia, with a design to recover that province, and to put it, as well as South Carolina, in such a posture of defence as would effectually secure them from any future attack. This seemed to be an easy matter, from the little force with which he knew he should be opposed: and the next object in contemplation was the destruction of the British fleet and army at New York. Full of these hopes, the French commander arrived off the coast of Georgia with a fleet of twenty-two sail of the line and ten frigates. His arrival was so little expected, that several vessels laden with provisions and military stores fell into his hands: the *Experiment* also, a vessel of 50 guns, commanded by Sir James Wallace, was taken after a stout resistance.

On the continent, the British troops were divided. General Prevost, with one part, remained at Savannah; but the main force was under Colonel Maitland at Port Royal. On the first appearance of the French fleet, an express was dispatched to Colonel Maitland: but it was intercepted by the enemy; so that, before he could set out to join the commander in chief, the Americans had secured most of the passes by land, while the French fleet effectually blocked up the passage by sea. Yet by taking advantage of creeks and inlets, and marching over land, he arrived just in time to relieve Savannah.

D'Estaing allowed General Prevost twenty-four hours to deliberate whether he would capitulate or not. This time the general employed in making the best preparations he could for a defence; and at this critical juncture Colonel Maitland arrived. D'Estaing's summons was now rejected; and, as the superiority of the

the enemy was by no means so much out of proportion, there was every probability of success on the part of the British. The garrison consisted of three thousand men, of approved valour and experience; and, having the advantage of a strong fortification and excellent engineers, the fire of the allies made so little impression, that d'Estaing resolved to bombard the town, and a battery of nine mortars was erected for the purpose. This produced a request from General Prevost, that the women and children might be allowed to retire to a place of safety. But the allied commanders had the inhumanity to refuse compliance; and resolved upon a general assault. This was accordingly attempted on the 9th of October: but the assailants were every where repulsed with such slaughter, that one thousand two hundred were killed and wounded; among the former was Count Polaski, and among the latter d'Estaing himself. This disaster entirely overthrew the sanguine hopes of the Americans and French; mutual reproaches and animosities took place; and, after waiting eight days, both parties prepared to retreat; the French to their shipping, and the Americans into Carolina.

While the allies were thus unsuccessfully employed in the southern colonies, their antagonists were no less assiduous in distressing them in the northern parts. Sir George Collier was sent with a fleet, carrying General Matthews, with a body of land-forces, into the province of Virginia. Their first attempt was on the town of Portsmouth; where, though the enemy had destroyed some ships of great value, the British troops arrived in time to save a great number of others. On this occasion about one hundred and twenty vessels of different sizes were burnt, and twenty carried off; and an immense quantity of provisions designed for the use of General Washington's army was either taken or destroyed, together with a great variety of naval and military stores.

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The success with which this expedition was attended, soon gave encouragement to another. The Americans had been for some time employed in erecting two strong forts on the river; the one at Verplank's Neck on the east, and the other at Stoney Point on the west, side. These, when completed, would have been of the utmost service to the Americans, by commanding the principal pass, called the King's Ferry, between the northern and southern colonies. At present, however, they were not in a condition to make any effectual defence; and it was determined to attack them before the works should be completed. The force employed on this occasion was divided into two battalions; one of which directed its course against Verplank's, and the other against Stoney Point. The former was commanded by General Vaughan, the latter by General Pattison, while the shipping was under the direction of Sir George Collier. General Vaughan met with no resistance, the enemy abandoning their works, and setting fire to every thing they could not carry off. At Stoney Point, however, a vigorous defence was made, though the garrison was at last obliged to capitulate. To secure the possession of this last, which was the more important of the two, General Clinton removed from his former situation, and encamped in such a manner that Washington could not give any assistance. The Americans, in turn, revenged themselves by distressing, with their numerous privateers, the trade to New York.

This occasioned an expedition to Connecticut, where these privateers were chiefly built and harboured. The command was given to Governor Tryon and General Garth. Under convoy of a considerable number of armed vessels they landed at Newhaven, where they demolished the batteries that had been erected to oppose them, and destroyed the shipping and naval stores; but they spared the town itself, as the inhabitants had abstained from firing out of their houses upon the troops.

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From Newhaven they marched to Fairfield, where they proceeded as before, and reduced the town to ashes. Norwalk was next attacked, which in like manner was burnt; as was also Greenfield, a small sea-port in the neighbourhood. These successes proved very alarming as well as detrimental to the Americans; so that Washington determined, at all events, to drive the British from Stoney Point. For this purpose he sent General Wayne with a detachment of chosen men, directing them to attempt the recovery of it by surprise. On this occasion the Americans shewed a spirit and resolution exceeding any thing they had performed during the course of the war. Though the fortifications of this place were very strong, they attacked the British with bayonets, after passing through a heavy fire of musquetry and grape-shot; and, in spite of all opposition, obliged the surviving part of the garrison, amounting to five hundred men, to surrender prisoners of war. Though the Americans did not retain Stoney Point, the success they had met with emboldened them to make a similar attempt on Paulus Hook, a fortified post on the Jersey side, opposite to New York; but they were obliged to retreat, after they had made themselves masters of one or two posts.

An expedition of greater importance was now projected on the part of the Americans. This was against a post on the river Penobscot, on the borders of Nova Scotia, of which the British had lately taken possession, and where they had begun to erect a fort, which threatened great inconvenience to the colonists. The armament destined against it was so soon got in readiness, that Colonel Maclane, the commanding officer at Penobscot, found himself obliged to drop the execution of part of his scheme; and, instead of a regular fort, to content himself with putting the works already constructed in as good a posture of defence as possible. The Americans could not effect a landing without much difficulty; and, as soon as this was done, they erected

erected several batteries, and kept up a brisk fire for the space of a fortnight. They now proposed to carry the fort by a general assault; but, before this could be effected, they perceived Sir George Collier, with a British fleet, coming to its relief. On this, they instantly re-embarked their artillery and military stores, and sailed up the river, as far as possible, in order to avoid him. They were so closely pursued, however, that not a single vessel could escape; so that the whole fleet, consisting of nineteen armed vessels and twenty-four transports, was destroyed. The soldiers and sailors were obliged to wander through immense deserts, where they suffered much for want of provisions; and, to add to their calamities, a quarrel arose between the soldiers and seamen concerning the cause of their disaster, which ended in a violent fray, wherein a great number were killed.

The projects of Count d'Estaing being totally disconcerted in America, where the people thought that little thanks were due to him for his ineffective promises, he set sail for the West Indies on the 3d of November, 1778, in order to second the operations of the Marquis de Bouillé, governor of Martinico, who had already captured the island of Dominique. On the very same day that the French fleet left Boston, a detachment of five thousand troops, under convoy of a small squadron commanded by Commodore Hotham, sailed from Sandy Hook, and arrived at Barbadoes on the 10th of December. Without suffering the troops to disembark, an expedition was immediately resolved upon against the island of St. Lucia, where a landing was effected on the 13th. By the spirited exertions of General Meadows and Admiral Barrington, upon whom the command had now devolved, several of the batteries and advanced posts were carried, when Count d'Estaing appeared in view with a far superior force, having on-board a large body of troops, with which he hoped to effect the

entire reduction of the English islands. The squadron of Admiral Barrington consisted only of three ships of the line, two of fifty guns, and three frigates, which he stationed across the entrance of the Careenage, supported by several batteries erected on shore. On the morning of the 15th, the French admiral bore down with ten sail of the line, but met with so gallant a reception that he thought proper in a short time to draw off. In the afternoon, he renewed the attack with his whole squadron; and a furious cannonade, directed chiefly against Admiral Barrington's division, was kept up for several hours, without making any impression on the English line; and the French admiral was again obliged to desist. Three days after, having plied a little to windward, he landed a body of five thousand men, and putting himself at their head, marched with great resolution to the assault of the British lines: but they were received by General Meadows with the same invincible courage as they had before experienced from Admiral Barrington. "Their two first attacks," says General Grant, "were made with the impetuosity of Frenchmen; and they were repulsed with the determined bravery of Britons." They rallied again, and returned to the charge the third time; but the affair was now soon decided: they were totally broken, and obliged to fly in the utmost disorder and confusion. Four hundred were left dead on the field; and even, according to their own accounts, out of eleven hundred wounded five hundred were rendered incapable of service. The magnitude of their loss, exceeding in number the whole of the British troops that were engaged, evinces the desperation and perseverance with which the French made and supported their attacks; and places above all praise the masterly disposition formed by General Meadows for the defence of his post, and the unshaken intrepidity of the men to whom that defence was intrusted. What excites equal astonishment is, that only thirteen of the
British

British troops were killed, one hundred and fifty wounded, and eight missing. After this severe defeat, d'Estaing continued on the island in a state of seeming irresolution for ten days longer. At length, re-embarking his troops in the night of the 28th, he set sail for Martinico next morning, and abandoned St. Lucia to its fate. Whilst his fleet was yet in view, the French governor, M. de Micoud, offered to capitulate; and although he was now destitute of all hopes of relief, the most honourable terms were granted to him, the liberality of the British commanders thus adding to the lustre of so splendid a conquest, and which was also considered as more than equivalent to the loss of Dominique.

Eight days after the departure of d'Estaing, Admiral Byron arrived with his fleet, unfortunately too late to cut off the retreat of the enemy. All this brave admiral's proceedings had hitherto been marred by the opposition of the elements. In the voyage from England, whence he had been dispatched after the Toulon fleet, his ships were separated in a storm, and did not reach New York but at long intervals, and many of them in so shattered a state that they were not in readiness to proceed to sea till the 18th of October. He then went in quest of d'Estaing; but his ill fortune still continued to persecute him. Scarcely had he reached the bay of Boston, when on the 1st of November, another tremendous storm arose, which so disabled his fleet, that he was obliged to put back to Rhode island to refit. This afforded d'Estaing a favorable opportunity of proceeding to the West Indies, and of making the attempt, though unsuccessful, which has been just related; while Byron was weather-bound at Rhode-island for a fortnight after his ships were ready to sail, and even in his passage thence had one of them dismasted. To these untoward circumstances the escape of the French fleet was entirely owing; and so sensible was d'Estaing of the danger of encounter-

tering even an equality of British naval force, that for six months together he only ventured twice out of the bay of Fort Royal, and both times hastily returned as soon as Byron's fleet was seen standing towards him. Squadrons were frequently sent to cruise off the mouth of the harbour where the count lay, and, if possible, to provoke him to come out and risk an engagement; but no mortification of this sort could induce him to deviate from his defensive plan.

Whilst the French, from having been the assailants, were thus reduced, as it were, to a state of siege in the West Indies, they had nearly lost all their possessions in the East.—When a rupture was seen to be inevitable, so expeditiously had the English East-India company transmitted their orders, and with so much promptitude were these orders executed, that the war broke out in the most distant extremities of the empire almost as soon as in the parts nearest to its centre. Chandernagore and all the factories belonging to the French in Bengal, at Yanaon and Karical, with their settlement at Masulipatam, were wrested from them during the summer; and, in the month of October, the town and fortress of Pondicherry, the capital of the French possessions, and the seat of their government in India, with an immense train of artillery, and a garrison of three thousand men, nine hundred of whom were Europeans, after being invested for two months and ten days by an army under General Munro by land, and by a small naval force under Sir Edward Vernon, who had previously defeated a French squadron under M. de Fronjolly, was surrendered by capitulation. Commodore Vernon's force consisted of only the Rippon of sixty guns, the Coventry of twenty-eight, the Seahorse of twenty, the Cormorant sloop, and an Indiaman: that of the enemy consisted of a 64-gun ship, two frigates, one of thirty-six the other of thirty-two guns, and two India ships armed for war: one of the French frigates was taken: the rest left Pondicherry to its fate.

At

At the close of this first campaign, France found little reason to congratulate herself on her new alliance. Her trade in both Indies had been greatly annoyed, many of her richest ships captured, and her lucrative trade on the Coromandel coast annihilated at once.

The parliament met on the 26th of November, 1778, and the house having resolved itself into a committee of supply, on the 2d of December, a member moved for an enquiry into the cause of our failure of success in the engagement on the 27th of July. Admiral Keppel thereupon rose to justify his conduct in that action; he was replied to by Sir Hugh Palliser. It appeared, that on the return of the fleet, reflections had been thrown out against the commander of the rear division, imputing the cause of the engagement not being renewed in the afternoon to that officer's neglecting to bear down, agreeable to a signal displayed by the commander in chief, and a message sent. Something of this kind having appeared in the newspapers, Sir Hugh Palliser applied to Admiral Keppel for a formal contradiction of such a charge; which was declined. A few days after the altercation in the house of commons had happened, Sir Hugh Palliser exhibited at the Admiralty-board, an accusation against the conduct of Admiral Keppel, on the 27th and 28th of July, consisting of five articles, or separate specific charges; a copy of which was sent by the board to the admiral, accompanied with a notice to prepare for his speedy trial by a court martial, on the several charges adduced.

A court-martial was accordingly appointed to be held on-board the *Britannia*, in Portsmouth harbour, on January 8th, 1779, and was from thence adjourned to the governor's house at Portsmouth. It consisted of Admiral Sir Thomas Pye, president; Admirals Buckle, Montague, Arbuthnot, and Rodham; Captains Millbank, Drake, Penny, Moutray, Duncan, Boteler, Cranston, and Bennet.

On

On the 11th of February, which was the 32d day of trial, the court having heard the evidence and the prisoner's defence, were of opinion, that the charge was malicious and ill-founded; it having appeared, that the admiral, so far from having by misconduct and neglect of duty on the days therein alluded to, lost an opportunity of rendering essential service to the state, and thereby tarnishing the honour of the British navy, behaved as became a judicious, brave, and experienced, officer. The court therefore unanimously and honourably acquitted the said Admiral Augustus Keppel of the several articles contained in the charge against him.

Sir Thomas Pye, on delivering to Admiral Keppel his sword, addressed him in the following words:

"Admiral Keppel, It is no small pleasure for me to receive the commands of the court I have the honour to preside at, that in delivering you your sword, I am to congratulate you on its being restored to you with so much honour; hoping ere long, you will be called forth by your sovereign, to draw it once more in defence of your country."

Immediately upon the acquittal of Admiral Keppel, both houses of parliament unanimously voted him their thanks for his gallant behaviour on the 27th of July. This example was followed by the city of London, and the West-India merchants.

Soon after, Sir Hugh Palliser resigned his seat at the board of admiralty, gave up his posts of lieutenant-general of the marines, and governor of Scarborough-castle, and, vacating his seat in parliament, kept nothing but his rank of vice-admiral of the blue. As, in the course of Admiral Keppel's trial, many circumstances were related in evidence which tended to criminate the accuser; the lords of the admiralty thought proper to issue orders for a court-martial to be held on Sir Hugh Palliser, which was accordingly held on-board the Sandwich, in Portsmouth-harbour, on Monday

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J. Chapman sculp.

ADMIRAL LORD KEPPEL.

Published as the Act directs July 1st 1750



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day the 12th of April, Vice-admiral George Darby, president; Rear-admiral Robert Digby, Captains Ogle, Kempenfelt, Peyton, Baine, Robinson, Duncan, Goodall, Cranston, Linzee, Colpoys, and Walters, members.

In the course of the trial, which continued until the 5th of May, upwards of forty witnesses were examined. All their evidence tended to prove the gallant behaviour of Sir Hugh Palliser, during the action in the morning; but the officers from the centre, and van divisions, bore testimony that the vice-admiral of the blue did not bring his division into a line of battle in the afternoon; notwithstanding his ship, the *Formidable*, did not appear to have received such damage as rendered her incapable of renewing the engagement, and a signal was flying from the *Victory* all the afternoon for that purpose, and a message was sent by Captain Windsor, in the *Fox* frigate, from the commander in chief, to acquaint Sir Hugh, that the admiral waited only for his division to renew the engagement, which message was delivered, according to the testimony of many witnesses, at half an hour after five o'clock.

The witnesses whose evidence tended to justify Sir Hugh Palliser, were, his captain in the *Formidable*, the four lieutenants, the carpenter, gunner, and gunner's mate; with some of the lieutenants, masters, and other officers, belonging to the ships in his division. They spoke of the incapacity of the *Formidable* to renew the engagement, and fixed the time of delivering the message from Admiral Keppel to be about seven o'clock in the evening; more than one denied that any thing was said about renewing the engagement. It is somewhat remarkable, that of the ten captains who commanded the ships in the rear division, only two were examined on this trial, and the evidence of only one of them tended to exculpate the prisoner. As we have been circumstantial in relating the transactions of that day when we spoke of the action, it is unnecessary

unnecessary to enlarge here; we shall therefore only observe, that Sir Hugh Palliser, as soon as he was out of the engagement, weared his ship, supposing the admiral meant immediately to return to the fight, and brought his whole division round, which does not prove that incapacity to his ship which he afterwards alleged. When he had thus changed his position, he formed the van of the British fleet. Two hours after, Admiral Keppel altered the situation of the fleet, by bringing Sir Robert Harland's division into the van, as in the morning, and threw out signals for Sir Hugh Palliser's ships to form the rear. No sooner was this disposition made, than the backwardness of the vice-admiral of the blue became observable.

On Wednesday the 5th of May, all the witnesses having been examined, and the vice-admiral having made his defence, the court proceeded to deliver their opinion, which was, "That the behaviour of the vice-admiral of the blue on the 27th and 28th days of July, was, in many instances, highly meritorious and exemplary; but that he was blameable for not making the distressed situation of his ship known to the admiral, either by the Fox, or otherwise. Yet, as he is censurable in no other part of his conduct, the court are of opinion, he ought, notwithstanding that, to be acquitted, and he is acquitted accordingly."

The president then delivered to the vice-admiral his sword, with this short address: "Sir, I am directed by the court to return you your sword."

Sir Hugh Palliser attended the next levee at St. James's; on which occasion he was presented to his majesty and graciously received. About the same time Sir Robert Harland struck his flag at Portsmouth, and resigned his command.

Whilst these dissensions among our naval commanders spread disagreement and misunderstanding through the navy, and divided the sentiments of the nation, according as party prejudices biassed the judgment, the

the cause of our enemies gained strength by the accession of Spain to the American confederacy.

In June 1779, the Marquis d'Almodovar, the Spanish ambassador, presented a manifesto to Lord Weymouth, in which his catholic majesty complained, that, having proposed terms of accommodation to the belligerent powers, in consequence of the British court having asked and accepted of his mediation, in the difference subsisting with France, the ministers of his Britannic majesty had rejected them in a manner that indicated little desire of restoring peace to Europe, or to preserve the friendship of his catholic majesty. It then expatiates on the many insults which the Spanish ships and settlements had received from the British subjects, which in number amounted to a hundred; which finding the British court not disposed to redress, he is under the disagreeable necessity of making use of all the means that the Almighty has given him, to do himself that justice which he has in vain solicited. Immediately on delivering this manifesto, the marquis quitted the kingdom, and Lord Grantham, our minister at the court of Madrid, was recalled.

The ministry, when laying the Spanish manifesto before the parliament, passed over in silence the rejected mediation of Spain, and confined their answer to the insults and encroachments which it complained of. His majesty, they said, had, on every occasion, been solemnly intent on the preservation of peace, and the reciprocal good intentions and harmony of both courts; that as soon as ever his catholic majesty, by his ambassador, had complained of any grievance, his majesty had taken the most effectual means of instantly affording the court of Madrid every possible satisfaction; and that the chief part of the grievances stated in the manifesto had never come to his knowledge by any means whatever. Both houses of parliament addressed his majesty in the warmest terms of loyalty and

affection, and every measure was immediately taken to repel the approaching storm.

Thus was Great Britain, unsupported by any one ally, left to contend with the powers of France, Spain, and America. That she was not appalled by the formidable league against her, was a strong proof of her spirit. That her pecuniary resources were found any ways adequate to the exigences of the times, was really wonderful; and that soldiers, seamen, and a navy, could be found able to make head against such a confederacy, places the real strength and abilities of this country in a stronger light than they had ever before appeared.

Sir Charles Hardy, admiral of the white, was now appointed to the command of the grand fleet, which was to oppose the combined force of France and Spain; and his royal highness Prince William Henry, (now Duke of Clarence,) was initiated in the service, under Rear-admiral Digby, as a midshipman, on-board the Royal George.

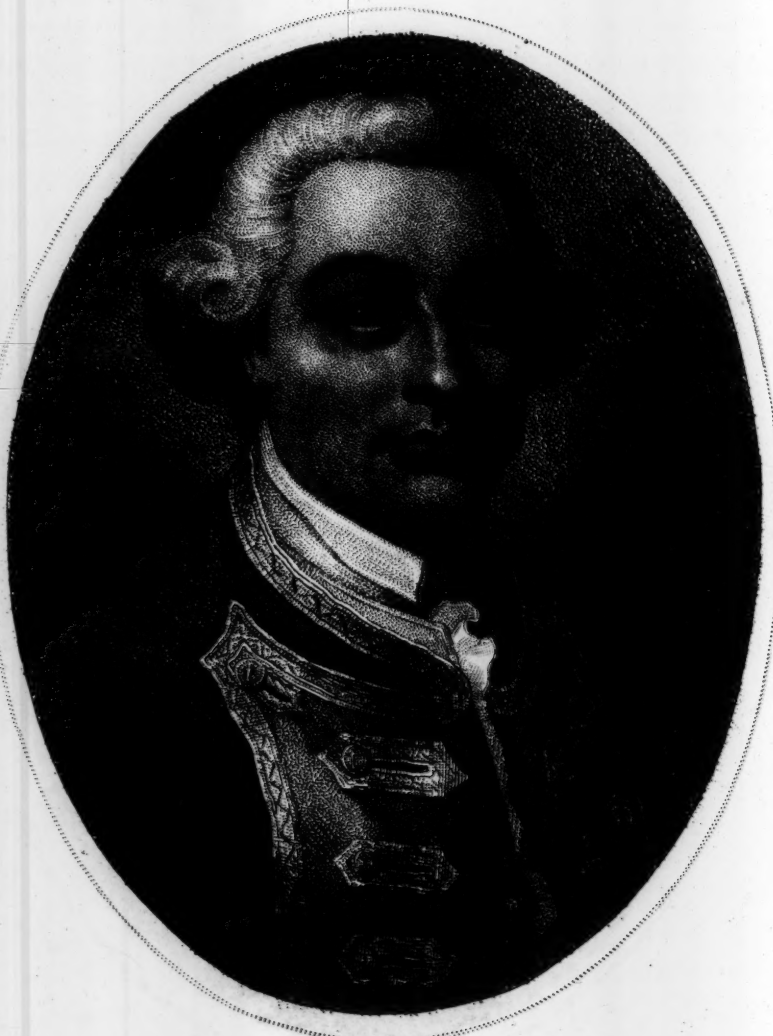
The first effect of the enmity of the Spaniards was the invasion of Gibraltar, which speedily followed the hostile rescript from the court of Spain. The blockade on the land-side commenced in the month of July, 1779; and the place was soon after invested as closely by sea as the nature of the gut and the variety of wind and weather would permit. It happened fortunately for Great Britain, that all the capital efforts of the Spanish nation should be directed, at this juncture, to so impracticable and ruinous an enterprise.

As to France, she had opened the year with a successful expedition to the coast of Africa. The settlement to Senegal and the British forts on the river Gambia were captured in February by a squadron under the Duke de Lauzun. It having then been thought necessary, for the sake of strengthening Senegal, to remove thither the troops and artillery from Goree, this island was soon afterwards seized and garrisoned



ADMIRAL HARDY.

Published as the Act directs May 1802.



J. Chapman Sc.

ADMIRAL DIGBY.

Published as the Act directs June 1-1802.



His Royal Highness The DUKE of CLARENCE.

Published as the Act directs. Price 1s. 6d.



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risoned by Sir Edward Hughes, who had force sufficient on-board his fleet to recover the other possessions; but his destination was for the East Indies, where he had much greater objects in view.

On the first of May, another expedition was undertaken by the French against the isle of Jersey, with five or six thousand men in flat-bottomed boats, under convoy of three frigates and some smaller vessels. They were so warmly and vigorously received by the seventy-eighth regiment and the militia of the island, that, after a faint and spiritless effort, they relinquished the enterprize. In a few days after, the frigates being seen parading on the opposite coast of Normandy, were pursued into Concalles-bay by a small squadron under the command of Sir James Wallace, in the *Experiment* of 50 guns, who taking upon himself the charge and risk of his own ship, when the pilots refused to conduct her any farther, laid her a-breast of a battery that covered the runaways, and soon silenced it. Armed boats were immediately sent to board the French ships, which had been abandoned by their crews. A cutter of 16 guns was scuttled as she lay on the shore; two of the frigates were burnt; and the third, *La Danaë* of 34 guns, with the smaller vessels, was towed off in triumph.

However completely the insolence of those invaders was punished, the attempt on Jersey proved, in its accidental consequences, extremely mortifying and injurious to Great Britain. It happened that Admiral Arbuthnot, with a squadron of men of war, and a large fleet of merchantmen and transports, was then on the outset of his voyage to New York. As he was proceeding down the channel on the second of May, he fell in with a vessel sent express from Jersey, with the first account of the supposed danger of that island. He sailed directly with part of the squadron for its relief, ordering the rest, and the ships under their protection, to wait his return at Torbay. Upon his ar-

rival off Guernsey, finding that the French had been repulsed, and that his assistance was no longer necessary, he tacked about to rejoin his convoy. Though he lost as little time as possible in this unfortunate deviation from his original course, it was the cause of much subsequent delay. His fleet, which had anchored at Torbay, was prevented from sailing for near a month after by contrary winds; and it being very reasonably apprehended, that, in the interval of its detention, the French receiving intelligence of its immense value, and of the force that protected it, might be tempted to make a vigorous effort for its capture, in order to defeat such an attempt, ten ships from the channel fleet were detached, under Admiral Darby, to accompany Arbuthnot to a certain latitude, whence he might proceed in perfect security. The channel fleet, weakened by so considerable a detachment, was obliged to suspend a plan already formed for blocking up the harbour of Brest; and the French, availing themselves of the opportunity, hurried to sea with an imperfect equipment, and joined the fleet of Spain on the 24th of June. This junction, which the late untoward accidents had rendered it impossible for the British naval force to prevent, was truly alarming. The two fleets amounted to more than sixty sail of the line, with nearly an equal number of frigates and smaller vessels. Soon after their junction, they steered for the British channel, in the mouth of which Sir Charles Hardy, who had succeeded Keppel, was cruising with a fleet of thirty-eight ships of the line, and something less than its due proportion of frigates. The combined fleets passed him, about the middle of August, without either party having discovered the other, and proceeded on as far as Plymouth, in sight of which place they continued parading for two or three days, until a strong easterly wind set in, and compelled them to retire. The same wind had also driven the British fleet to sea; but, on the
last

last day of August, Sir Charles Hardy regained his former station, and entered the channel in full view of the enemy, who did not attempt to molest him. He now endeavoured to entice them into the narrower part of the channel, where their great superiority in number would have been of less avail: they followed him as high as Plymouth, but would venture no farther. Their crews were said to be sickly; their ships to be in bad condition; and the season for equinoctial gales was fast approaching. Count d'Orvilliers thought it therefore prudent to quit the channel early in September, and steer back to Brest, without effecting any thing farther than the capture of the Ardent man of war, which had accidentally fallen in with the combined fleets. Though the naval pride of England was certainly very much mortified at such insults on her own coast, and at the retreat of her fleet before the enemy; yet the real disgrace was on the side of France and Spain, who having at a vast expence fitted out and brought together greater armaments than had ever, perhaps, been assembled on the seas, saw their efforts expire in empty parade, and their big hopes of sweeping the ocean terminate in the capture of a single ship.

The events in the West Indies, and on the banks of the Mississippi, proved more flattering to the views of the house of Bourbon, though not uncorrected by some severe strokes of disappointment and loss. The passiveness with which d'Estaing suffered himself to be continually defied, or rather blocked up in Fort Royal harbour, by a fleet superior only in courage to his own, has been already noticed. Both fleets were reinforced in the beginning of the year; that of Admiral Byron by several ships of war from England, under Commodore Rowley; and that of d'Estaing by a squadron from France, under the command of M. de Grasse. But, as these accessions of strength were nearly balanced on both sides, the count still declined
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the challenge and endured the insults of his spirited enemy. The departure of Admiral Byron on the 6th of June, to convoy the valuable trade of the West-India islands a part of their way to England, afforded d'Estaing an opportunity of commencing operations. He sent a detachment of four hundred and fifty men to the island of St. Vincent, which, though garrisoned by seven companies of regular troops, surrendered without a shot. This is ascribed to the dread entertained of an insurrection of the Caribbs, who had never been perfectly reconciled to the English government, and who were ready to join the French as soon as they landed. D'Estaing being farther encouraged by another large reinforcement under M. de la Motte Piquet, sailed from Port Royal with twenty-six ships of the line, eight large frigates, and a number of transports having nine thousand troops on-board, and steered for Grenada, where he arrived the 2d of July. Lord Macartney, the governor, though his whole garrison did not exceed one hundred and fifty regulars, with about the same number of militia, yet being strongly posted on an intrenched hill, he repulsed the first assault of between two and three thousand of the French, with the most heroic valour. But the superiority of numbers was at length decisive; and the British lines were forced, after a hard conflict, which lasted about an hour and a half, and in which three hundred of the assailants are said to have been killed or wounded. Next day, Macartney and his brave companions, rather than give a formal assent to terms prescribed by the insolence of victory, surrendered at discretion. Admiral Byron, on his return to St. Lucia, receiving intelligence of the capture of St. Vincent's, waited only to have some troops embarked, and directed his course thither; but, on his passage, he heard the still more unwelcome tidings of the attack on Grenada, the relief of which was therefore to be immediately attempted. Though his force consisted

gilted of only twenty-one ships of the line, and one frigate, besides transports, he was animated by the warmest hopes of success, being totally ignorant of la Motte's junction with d'Estaing. At day-break on the 6th of July, he came in view of the enemy; but the French commander, having already effected his purpose, was little inclined, notwithstanding his present superiority, to risk a close engagement. A warm, but partial and undecisive, action ensued, in which three or four of the English ships sustained considerable damage in their masts, sails, and rigging, though their loss in killed and wounded bore a very small proportion to the dreadful slaughter on-board the French fleet. In the result, Admiral Byron, who, to his great mortification, had seen the white flag flying on the fortress of St. George, but who must also have felt his inequality to any farther attempts for the recovery of the island, withdrew next day to St. Christopher's, d'Estaing having in the night returned to Grenada.

As Spain had acted with so much treachery in Europe, keeping up the show of friendship till all her preparations for war were fully completed, it was not a matter of surprise to see her commence hostilities in remote parts of the globe, with all the advantages of early information and previous design. About the middle of August, Don Galvez, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, having collected the whole force of his province of New Orleans, set out upon an expedition against the British settlements on the Mississippi; and as they had no cover but a newly-constructed fort, or more properly a field redoubt, defended by five hundred men, they could not long resist the efforts of a well-provided army of four times that number. Don Galvez now extended his views to the conquest of all West Florida; but thinking his own force inadequate to such an enterprize, he concerted a plan of operation with the governor of the Hayannah, in pursuance
of

of which he was to be assisted by a considerable embarkation from that place early in the ensuing year.

Nearly at the same time that Don Galvez was advancing to the western extremities of Florida, the Spanish governor of Honduras made an unexpected attack upon the British logwood cutters; took many of them prisoners; and expelled the rest from their principal settlement at St. George's Key. Captain Dalrymple, with a detachment of the royal Irish from Jamaica, and some Indians and volunteers collected on the Mosquito shore, being on their passage to Honduras for the purpose of assisting the bay-men, fell in with a small squadron of frigates under the command of Commodore Luttrell, who had been cruising to intercept two Spanish register-ships. The commodore informed Captain Dalrymple, that the Spaniards were already dispossessed of St. George's Key; and that the register ships, having taken shelter in the harbour of Omoa, were so strongly protected by the fortifications on shore, as to bid defiance to any effort by sea. Under such circumstances, the two commanders agreed to unite their forces, and to make an attack on Omoa both by sea and land. Never was any enterprise conducted with greater spirit and judgment, or crowned with more brilliant success. Those walls, which had cost the Spaniards twenty years labour, and upon which neither the fire of the frigates, nor some batteries erected on the adjoining heights could make any impression, were scaled by the intrepid assailants; and the keys of the fort were surrendered to Captain Dalrymple, without any farther resistance. The prisoners amounted to three hundred and fifty-five rank and file, besides officers and inhabitants; and it was agreed that they should be exchanged for an equal number of British subjects taken in the bay of Honduras. The value of the register ships and other prizes of less note in the harbour was estimated at three millions of dollars.

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No part of this loss was more severely felt by the Spaniards than that of two hundred and fifty quintals of quicksilver, a commodity so essential to the purification of their gold and silver ores, that they would have given almost any price for it; but the captors, preferring the public good to their own private emolument, would not part upon any terms with an article, which, though of no great value to themselves, was of such immense consequence to the enemy. Upon the same principle, they refused to ransom the fort, (for which high offers were likewise made,) and left a garrison for its defence; although their views to the service of their country were frustrated in this respect by its subsequent evacuation, arising more from the unhealthiness of the place, than from any power or vigour exerted by the enemy in its recovery.

The conduct of all the officers and men in every part of this service was highly laudable and exemplary; but the following instance of magnanimity, in the moment of the assault, deserves a peculiar and distinctive tribute of applause. A common sailor, who scrambled singly over the wall, had, for the better annoyance, on all sides, of the enemy, armed himself with a cutlass in each hand. Thus equipped, he fell in with a Spanish officer, just roused from sleep, and who, in the hurry and confusion, had forgotten his sword. This circumstance restrained the fury of the gallant tar, who disdaining an unarmed foe, but unwilling to relinquish so happy an opportunity of displaying his courage in single combat, presented one of the cutlasses to him, saying, "I scorn any advantage—you are now upon a footing with me."—The astonishment of the officer at such an act of generosity, and at the facility with which a friendly parley took place, when he expected nothing less, from the uncouth and hostile appearance of his foe, than that of being instantly cut to pieces, could only be equalled by the admiration, which his relating the story excited in his countrymen.

We must now take a view of the transactions in the southern colonies; to which the war, in the year 1780, was so effectually transferred, that the operations there became at last decisive. The success of General Prevost, in advancing to the very capital of South Carolina, has been already stated, (p. 147.) together with the obstacles which prevented him from becoming master of it at that time. Towards the end of 1779, Sir Henry Clinton set sail from New York with a considerable body of troops, intended for the attack of Charlestown, in a fleet of ships of war and transports, under the command of Vice-admiral Arbuthnot. They had a very tedious voyage; the weather was uncommonly bad; several of the transports were lost, and an ordnance-ship foundered at sea. Having arrived at Savannah, where they endeavoured to repair the damages, they proceeded, on the 10th of February, 1780, to North Edisto, the place of debarkation which had been previously appointed. They had a favourable passage thither; and, though it required time to have the bar explored and the channel marked, the transports all entered the harbour the next day; and the army took possession of John's Island without opposition. Preparations were then made for passing the squadron over Charlestown-bar, where the high-water spring-tides were only nineteen feet deep; but no opportunity offered of going into the harbour till the 20th of March, when it was effected without any accident, though the American galleys continually attempted to prevent the English boats from sounding the channel. The British troops had previously removed from John's to James's Island; and, on the 29th of the same month, they effected their landing on Charlestown Neck. On the 1st of April they broke ground within 800 yards of the American works; and, by the 8th, the besiegers guns were mounted for action.

As soon as the army began to open their batteries
against

against the town, Admiral Arbuthnot embraced the first opportunity of passing Sullivan's Island, upon which there was a strong fort, the chief defence of the harbour. He weighed on the 9th, with the Roebuck, Richmond, and Romulus, Blonde, Virginia, Raleigh, and Sandwich armed ship, the Renown bringing up the rear; and, passing through a severe fire, anchored in about two hours under St. James's Island, with the loss of twenty-seven seamen killed and wounded. The Richmond's fore-top-mast was shot away, and the ships in general sustained damage in their masts and rigging, though not materially in their hulls. But the Acetus transport, having on-board some naval stores, grounded within gun-shot of Sullivan's Island, and received so much damage, that she was obliged to be abandoned and burnt.

On the 10th, Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot summoned the town to surrender; but Lincoln, who commanded in Charlestown, returned them an answer, declaring it to be his intention to defend the place. The batteries were now opened against the town; and from their effect the fire of the American advanced works considerably abated. It appears, that the number of troops under the command of Lincoln, were by far too few for defending works of such extent as those of Charlestown; and that many of these were men little accustomed to military service, and very ill provided with clothes and other necessaries. Lincoln had been for some time expecting reinforcements and supplies from Virginia, and other places: but they came in very slowly. Earl Cornwallis and Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton were extremely active in intercepting these reinforcements. They totally defeated a considerable body of cavalry and militia, which was proceeding to the relief of the town; and made themselves masters of some posts, which gave them the command of the country, by which means great supplies of provisions fell into their

hands. Such was the state of things, and Fort Sullivan had also been taken by the king's troops, when General Clinton again summoned the town to surrender; an offer being made, that the lives and property of the inhabitants should be preserved to them. Articles of capitulation were then agreed upon, and the town surrendered on the 4th of May, 1780. A large quantity of ordnance, arms, and ammunition, was found in Charlestown; and, according to Sir Henry Clinton's account, the number of prisoners amounted to 5618 men, exclusive of near a thousand sailors in arms; but, according to General Lincoln's account, transmitted to the congress, the whole number of continental troops taken prisoners amounted to no more than 2487. The remainder, therefore, included in General Clinton's account, must have consisted of militia and inhabitants of the town. Several American frigates were also taken or destroyed in the harbour.

While Sir Henry Clinton was employed in his voyage to Charlestown, and in the siege of that place, the garrison at New York were not free from apprehensions for their own safety. An intense frost, accompanied with great falls of snow, began about the middle of December, 1779, and shut up the navigation of the port of New York from the sea, within a few days after the departure of Admiral Arbuthnot and General Clinton. The severity of the weather increased to so great a degree, that towards the middle of January all communications with New York by water were entirely cut off, and as many new ones opened by the ice. The inhabitants could scarcely be said to be in an insular state. Horses with heavy carriages could go over the ice into the Jerseys, from one island to another. The passage in the North River, even in the widest part, from New York to Paulus Hook, which was 2000 yards, was, about the 19th of January, 1780, passable for the heaviest cannon: an event which had been unknown in the memory of man.

Provisions

Provisions were soon after transported upon sledges, and a detachment of cavalry marched upon the ice from New York to Staten Island, which was a distance of eleven miles.

The city of New York, being thus circumstanced, was much exposed to the continental troops; and it was strongly reported, that General Washington was meditating an attack upon it with his whole force. Some time before this, Major-general Pattison, commandant at New York, having received an address from many of the inhabitants, offering to put themselves in military array, he thought the present a favourable opportunity of trying the sincerity of their professions. Accordingly, he issued a proclamation, calling upon all the male inhabitants from sixteen to sixty to take up arms. The requisition was so readily complied with, that, in a few days, forty companies from the six wards of the city were inrolled, officered, and under arms, to the number of 2600. Other volunteer companies were also formed; and the city was put into a strong posture of defence. No attack, however, was made upon New York, whatever design might originally have been meditated: but an attempt was made upon Staten Island, where there were about 1800 men, under the command of Brigadier-general Sterling. General Washington, whose army was huddled at Morris-town, sent a detachment of 2700 men, with six pieces of cannon, two mortars, and some horses, commanded by Lord Sterling, who arrived at Staten Island early in the morning of the 15th of January. The advanced posts of the British troops retired upon the approach of the Americans, who formed the line, and made some movements in the course of the day; but they withdrew in the night, and carried off with them about 200 head of cattle. Immediately on the arrival of the Americans on Staten Island, Lieutenant-general Knyphausen had embarked 600 men to attempt a passage, and to support

port General Sterling; but the floating ice compelled them to return.

After Charlestown had surrendered, General Clinton issued two proclamations, and circulated a hand-bill amongst the inhabitants of South Carolina, to induce them to return to their allegiance, and to be ready to join the king's troops. These proclamations appear to have produced some effect, though they probably operated chiefly upon those who were before not much inclined to the cause of American independence. Two hundred and ten of the inhabitants of Charlestown signed an address to General Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, soliciting to be re-admitted to the character and condition of British subjects; declaring their disapprobation of the doctrine of American independence, and expressing their regret, that, after the repeal of those statutes which gave rise to the troubles in America, the overtures of his majesty's commissioners had not been regarded by the congress.

At this time the people of America were involved in great difficulties by the depreciation of their paper-currency. At the time when the colonies engaged in war with Great Britain, they had no regular civil government established among them of sufficient energy to enforce the collection of taxes, or to provide funds for the redemption of such bills of credit as their necessities obliged them to issue. In consequence of this, their bills increased in quantity far beyond the sum necessary for the purpose of a circulating medium: and, as they wanted at the same time specific funds to rest on for their redemption, they saw their paper currency daily sink in value. The depreciation continued, by a kind of gradual progression, from the year 1777 to the year 1780; so that, at the latter period, the continental dollars were passed, by common consent, in most parts of America, at the rate of at least thirty-nine fortieths below their nominal value. The impossibility of keeping up the credit of the currency

to any fixed standard, occasioned great and almost insurmountable embarrassments in ascertaining the value of property, or carrying on trade with any sufficient certainty. Those who sold, and those who bought, were left without a rule whereon to form a judgment of their profit or their loss: and every species of commerce or exchange, whether foreign or domestic, was exposed to numberless and increasing difficulties. The consequences of the depreciation of the paper-currency, were also felt with peculiar severity by such of the Americans as were engaged in their military services, and greatly augmented by their other hardships. The requisitions made by the congress to the several colonies for supplies, were also far from always being complied with: and their troops were not unfrequently in want of the most common necessities; which naturally occasioned complaints and discontent among them. Some of these difficulties, resulting from their circumstances and situation, perhaps no wisdom could have prevented: but they seem to have arisen in part from the congress not being sufficiently acquainted with the principles of finance, and from a defect of system in the departments of their government. The cause of the Americans appears also to have suffered by their depending too much on temporary enlistments. But the congress endeavoured, towards the close of the year 1780, to put their army upon a more permanent footing, and to give all the satisfaction to their officers and soldiers which their circumstances would permit. They appointed a committee for arranging their finances, and made some new regulations respecting their war-office and treasury-board, and other public departments.

Notwithstanding the disadvantages under which they laboured, the Americans seemed to entertain no doubts but that they should be able to maintain their independency. The 4th of July was celebrated this year at Philadelphia, as the anniversary of American independence.

dependence. A commencement for conferring degrees in the arts was held the same day, in the hall of the university there; at which the president and members of the congress attended, and other persons in public offices. The Chevalier de la Lucerne, minister plenipotentiary from the French king to the United States, was also present on the occasion. A charge was publicly addressed by the provost of the university to the students; in which he said, that he could not but congratulate them "on that auspicious day, which, amidst the confusions and desolations of war, beheld learning beginning to revive; and animated them with the pleasing prospect of seeing the sacred lamp of science burning with a still brighter flame, and scattering its invigorating rays over the unexplored deserts of that extensive continent; until the whole world should be involved in the united blaze of knowledge, liberty, and religion. When he stretched his views forward," he said, "and surveyed the rising glories of America, the enriching consequences of their determined struggle for liberty, the extensive fields of intellectual improvement and useful invention, in science and arts, in agriculture and commerce, in religion and government, through which the unfettered mind would range, with increasing delight, in quest of the undiscovered treasure which yet lay concealed in the animal, vegetable, and mineral, kingdoms of that new world; or in the other fertile sources of knowledge with which it abounded; his heart swelled with the pleasing prospect, that the sons of that institution would distinguish themselves, in the different walks of life, by their literary contributions to the embellishment and increase of human happiness."

On the 10th of July, M. Ternay, with a fleet consisting of seven ships of the line, besides frigates, and a large body of French troops, commanded by Count Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode Island; and the following

lowing day 6000 men were landed. A committee from the general assembly of Rhode Island was appointed to congratulate the French general upon his arrival : whereupon he returned an answer, in which he informed them, that the king his master had sent him to the assistance of his good and faithful allies the United States of America. At present, he said, he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force destined for their aid ; and the king had ordered him to assure them, that his whole power should be exerted for their support. He added, that the French troops were under the strictest discipline ; and, acting under the orders of General Washington, would live with the Americans as their brethren.

A scheme was soon after formed, of making a combined attack with English ships and troops, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, against the French fleet and troops at Rhode Island. Accordingly a considerable part of the troops at New York were embarked for that purpose. General Washington, having received information of this, passed the North River by a very rapid movement, and, with an army increased to 12,000 men, proceeded with celerity towards King's Bridge, in order to attack New York ; but, learning that the British general had changed his intentions, and disembarked his troops on the 31st of the month, General Washington recrossed the river, and returned to his former station. Sir Henry Clinton and the admiral had agreed to relinquish their design of attacking the French and Americans at Rhode Island as impracticable.

An unsuccessful attempt was also made, about this time in the Jerseys by General Knyphausen, with 7000 British troops under his command, to surprise the advanced posts of General Washington's army. They proceeded rapidly towards Springfield, meeting little opposition till they came to the bridge there, which

was very gallantly defended by 170 of the continental troops, for fifteen minutes, against the British army: but they were at length obliged to give up so unequal a contest, with the loss of thirty-seven men. After securing this pass, the British troops marched into the place, and set fire to most of the houses. They also committed some other depredations in the Jerseys; but were obliged to return about the beginning of July, without effecting any thing material.

In South Carolina the royal arms were attended with more success. Earl Cornwallis, who commanded the British troops, obtained a very signal victory over General Gates, on the 16th of August. The action began at break of day, in a situation very advantageous for the British troops, but very unfavourable to the Americans. The latter were much more numerous; but the ground on which both armies stood was narrowed by swamps on the right and left, so that the Americans could not avail themselves of their superior numbers. There seems to have been a want of generalship in Gates, in suffering himself to be surpris'd in so disadvantageous a position: but this circumstance was partly the effect of accident; for both armies set out with a design of attacking each other precisely at the same time, at ten the preceding evening, and met together before day-light at the place where the action happened. The attack was made by the British troops with great vigour, and in a few minutes the action was general along the whole line. It was at this time a dead calm, with a little haziness in the air, which prevented the smoke from rising, and occasioned so thick a darkness, that it was difficult to see the effect of a very heavy and well-supported fire on both sides. The British troops either kept up a constant fire, or made use of bayonets, as opportunities offered: and, after an obstinate resistance during three quarters of an hour, threw the Americans into total confusion, and forced them to
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give way in all quarters. The continental troops appear to have behaved well, but the militia were soon broken, and left the regulars to oppose the whole force of the British troops. General Gates did all in his power to rally the militia, but without effect: the continentals retreated in some order; but the rout of the militia was so great, that the British cavalry are said to have continued the pursuit of them to the distance of twenty-two miles from the place where the action happened. The loss of the Americans was very considerable: about 1000 prisoners were taken, and more said to have been killed and wounded, but the number is not very accurately ascertained. Seven pieces of brass cannon, a number of colours, and all the ammunition-waggons of the Americans, were taken. Of the British troops, the killed and wounded amounted to 213. Among the prisoners was Major-general Baron de Kalb, a Prussian officer in the American service, who was mortally wounded, having exhibited great gallantry in the action, and received eleven wounds. The British troops by which this great victory was achieved did not much exceed 2000, while the American army is said to have amounted to 6000, of which, however, the greatest part was militia.

Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, who had greatly distinguished himself in this action, was detached the following day, with some cavalry and light infantry, amounting to about 350 men, to attack a corps of Americans under General Sumpter. He executed this service with great activity and military address. He procured good information of Sumpter's movements; and by force and concealed marches came up with and surprised him in the middle of the day on the 18th, near the Catawba fords. He totally destroyed or dispersed his detachment, which consisted of 700 men, killing 150 on the spot, and taking two pieces of brass cannon, 300 prisoners, and forty-four waggons.

The news of a victory at once so brilliant, and ap-
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parently so decisive of the fate of the southern colonies, were not received with corresponding emotions of joy in England. The spirits of the people had lately been sunk in the contemplation of some of the severest blows which the British commerce had ever sustained. Admiral Geary, who, on the death of Sir Charles Hardy in May, had been appointed to the command of the channel fleet, having in the beginning of July taken twelve merchantmen from Port-au-prince, proceeded soon after to the southward, in the hope of falling in with a detached squadron of French and Spanish ships, of which he had received some intelligence. While he was cruising with this view off Cape Finisterre, a rich and considerable convoy for the East and West Indies, attended by the *Ramillies* and two frigates, sailed from Portsmouth in the latter end of July, and were intercepted on the 9th of August by the combined fleets under Don Louis de Cordova. The *Ramillies*, with the frigates, and a few merchantmen, escaped. All the rest, amounting to more than fifty sail, were taken and carried into Cadiz. Besides the immense value of the merchandise, a number of the ships were loaded with naval and military stores for the settlements in their respective places of destination. About the same time, an account was received of the capture of fourteen ships of the outward-bound Quebec-fleet by some American privateers off the banks of Newfoundland; and this concurrence of losses, which, in their nearer or more remote consequences, affected all orders of people, spread a general gloom throughout the nation.

Not long after these events, Major-general Arnold, who had engaged so ardently in the cause of America, and who had exhibited so much bravery in the support of it, became an apostate. Major André, adjutant-general to the British army, was a principal agent in this transaction: or, if the overture of joining the king's troops came first from Arnold, this gentleman

was

was the person employed to concert the affair with him. More must have been originally comprehended in the scheme than the mere desertion of the American cause by Arnold: but, whatever designs had been formed for promoting the views of the British government, they were frustrated by the apprehending of Major André. He was taken in disguise, after having assumed a false name, on the 23d of September, by three American soldiers; to whom he offered considerable rewards if they would have suffered him to escape, but without effect. Several papers written by Arnold were found upon him; and, when Arnold had learned that Major André was seized, he found means to get on-board a barge, and to escape to one of the king's ships. General Washington referred the case of Major André to the examination and decision of a board of general officers, consisting of Major-generals Green, Lord Sterling, Marquis de la Fayette, Baron Stenben, two other major-generals, and eight brigadier generals. Major André was examined before them, and the particulars of his case enquired into; and they reported to the American commander in chief, That Mr. André came on-shore from the Vulture sloop of war in the night, on an interview with General Arnold, in a private and secret manner; that he changed his dress within the American lines; and, under a feigned name, and in a disguised habit, passed the American works at Stoney Point and Verplanks Point on the evening of the 22d of September; that he was taken on the morning of the 23d at Tarry-town, being then on his way for New York; and that, when taken, he had in his possession several papers which contained intelligence for the enemy. They therefore determined, that he ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy; and that, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, he ought to suffer death. Sir Henry Clinton, Lieutenant-general Robertson, and the late American general Arnold, all wrote pressing letters to General Washington.

Washington on the occasion, to prevent the decision of the board of general officers from being put in force; but their applications were ineffectual. Major André was hanged at Tappan, in the province of New York, on the 2d of October. He met his fate with great firmness; but appeared somewhat hurt that he was not allowed a more military death, for which he had solicited. He was a gentleman of very amiable qualities, had a taste for literature and the fine arts, and possessed many accomplishments. His death, therefore, was regretted even by his enemies; and the severity of the determination concerning him was much exclaimed against in Great Britain. It was, however, generally acknowledged by impartial persons, that there was nothing in the execution of this unfortunate gentleman but what was perfectly consonant to the rules of war.

Arnold was now made a brigadier-general in the king's service, and published an address to the inhabitants of America, dated from New York, October 7, in which he endeavoured to justify his desertion of their cause. He said, that, when he first engaged in it, he conceived the rights of his country to be in danger, and that duty and honour called him to her defence. A redress of grievance was his only aim and object; and therefore he acquiesced unwillingly in the declaration of independence, because he thought it precipitate. But what now induced him to desert their cause was the disgust he had conceived at the French alliance, and at the refusal of the congress to comply with the last terms offered by Great Britain, which he thought equal to all their expectations and their wants.

After the defeat of General Gates by Earl Cornwallis, that nobleman exerted himself to the utmost in extending the progress of the British arms, and with considerable effect. But one enterprise, which was conducted by Major Ferguson, proved unsuccessful,

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From Sir Isaac Newton's MSS.



J. Chapman sculp.

LORD HEATHFIELD.

Published as the Act directs April 1st 1796.



That officer had taken abundant pains to discipline some of the Tory militia, as they were termed; and with a party of these, and some British troops, amounting in the whole to about 1400 men, made incursions into the country. But on the 7th of October he was attacked by a superior number of Americans, at a place called *King's Mountain*, and totally defeated. One hundred and fifty were killed in the action, and 810 made prisoners, of which 150 were wounded. Fifteen hundred stand of arms also fell into the hands of the Americans, whose loss was inconsiderable.

On the 3d of September, the *Mercury*, a congress packet, was taken by the *Vestal*, Captain Keppel, near Newfoundland. On board this packet was Mr. Laurens, late president of the congress, who was bound on an embassy to Holland. He had thrown his papers overboard, but great part of them were recovered without having received much damage. He was brought to London, and examined before the privy-council; in consequence of which he was committed close prisoner to the Tower on the 6th of October on a charge of high treason. His papers were delivered to the ministry, and contributed to facilitate a rupture with Holland, as among them was found the sketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the republic of Holland and the United States of America.

The siege of Gibraltar continued. The port was completely blocked up by a squadron of two 74-gun ships, several frigates, galleys, &c. A camp was formed on a plain below St. Roch, three miles from the fortress. The garrison at this time consisted of 5382 men, including officers, with a company of engineers and artificers; but the greatest expectations were formed from the abilities and valour of General Elliot the governor. As soon as the breaking off the communication with Spain indicated approaching hostilities, he took every precaution that could be suggested by military wisdom; but, though informed of the rupture
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betwixt the two courts having actually taken place, and though he beheld the hostile operations of the enemy, no means were used to interrupt them till the 12th of September, when the batteries of Green's Lodge, Willis, and Queen Charlotte, were opened for a few hours, with a view to disturb the workmen.

From this time to the beginning of the year 1780 the enemy continued the blockade both by sea and land, but without doing any damage to the works or garrison; and it was not until the 12th of January that a single person was wounded. This happened to be a woman, who, passing near one of the houses, was slightly hurt by a shot from the enemy. In the mean time, however, the usual supplies of provisions being cut off, the garrison began to feel all the horrors of famine.

Had matters remained long in this state, it is plain that the fortress, however strong, must have fallen into the hands of the enemy. They were, however, effectually relieved in consequence of the victory gained by Admiral Rodney over the Spanish fleet commanded by Don Juan de Langara. The former had been furnished with a strong squadron, in order to relieve this important fortress; with which having set sail, he in a few days fell in with a Spanish fleet of sixteen transports bound from Bilboa to Cadiz, and laden with provisions and naval stores, convoyed by a man of war of 64 guns, four frigates, and two armed vessels. Of these only a single transport escaped, the rest being all captured on the 8th of January, 1780; and the loss of them, at the same time that it promised to be very serviceable to the garrison, was equally detrimental to the enemy, who were now in great want both of provisions and materials for their shipping.

This advantage was soon after followed by a much greater. On the 16th of the same month a Spanish squadron of eleven sail of the line was discovered
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ADMIRAL LORD RODNEY

Published as the Act directs March 1796



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off Cape St. Vincent; and, the British admiral having taken the proper methods to come up with them as quickly as possible, an engagement took place about four in the afternoon. At this time the headmost ships of the British line closed in with the nearest of the enemy, and in half an hour one of the Spaniards, mounting 70 guns, and having on-board six hundred men, blew up, and all on-board perished. In two hours more another Spanish ship of the line was taken; notwithstanding which the fight continued with great vigour till two in the morning, when the headmost ship of the enemy struck to the Sandwich; after which the firing ceased. The weather throughout the night was so tempestuous that it was with the utmost difficulty the British could take possession of those ships which surrendered. These were six in number, but two of them drove ashore and were lost, only four being brought safe into Gibraltar. These were the admiral's ship of 80 guns and seven hundred men, with three others of 70 guns and six hundred men. The engagement, however, happened so near the shore, and the British were so eager in securing the lee-gage to prevent the enemy's escape, that Admiral Rodney's ship, together with some of the largest in the fleet, were in great danger of running on the shoals of St. Lucar; nor could they be got into deep water again without much labour and the exertion of great naval skill. It was the opinion of all who were present in the action, that had this engagement happened in the day-time, or had the weather been less boisterous, not one of the Spanish ships could have escaped; and even as it was, those which got off were so extremely damaged as to be unfit for service.

The news of this important victory arrived at Gibraltar on the evening of the day after it was fought; and in two days more the garrison was completely relieved by the arrival of the fleet and convoy, at the same time that they were farther reinforced by a regi-

ment of Highlanders, consisting of 1051 men, officers included. An opportunity was also taken of sending away with the fleet all the invalids and women in the garrison; with whom they set sail on the 10th of February, leaving in the bay only the *Edgar* and *Panther* ships of the line, with two frigates.

As soon as Sir George Rodney had seen the supplies safely landed at Gibraltar, he proceeded to the West Indies, sending home his prizes with the detachment of the channel fleet under Admiral Darby, who, on his passage, captured the *Prothée*, a French ship of sixty-four guns, and three vessels laden with military stores, being part of a convoy bound to the Mauritius in the East Indies.

Though the re-inforcement under Admiral Rodney, after his arrival at St. Lucia on the 27th of March, still left the British fleet somewhat inferior in number to that of the French at Martinique, yet he soon returned a late menacing visit from the Count de Guichen, and remained for two days off Fort Royal harbour, endeavouring, but in vain, to provoke the enemy to an engagement. He then left a squadron of swift-sailing vessels to watch their motions, and took back the rest of his fleet to St. Lucia. Things hung in this state for nearly a fortnight, when intelligence was brought that the French fleet, consisting of twenty-three sail of the line and a number of frigates, had put to sea in the night of the 15th of April. Rodney, with three ships less, used such exertions in pursuit of the enemy, as to come up with them in the morning of the 17th. At noon he made the signal for a general and close engagement, setting himself a noble example to all his officers, by beating three of the enemy's ships successively out of the line, and then bearing down upon the French admiral, whom, though assisted by two seconds, he fought for an hour and a half with unremitting fury, till the enemy bore away, whereby their line of battle was entirely broken in the centre.

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The great distance of the British van and rear, with the crippled state of some of Rodney's division, and particularly of his own ship, after having singly sustained so unequal a conflict, rendered it impossible to make the victory complete by an immediate chase. His subsequent exertions to bring the enemy to an action were constantly eluded by the Count de Guichen, who first took shelter at Guadaloupe, and afterwards regained his former place of security at Fort Royal, though not without receiving some severe blows in a few partial rencounters. The arrival of a Spanish squadron of twelve ships of the line, besides frigates and transports with above ten thousand troops on-board, seemed to give the count an invincible superiority, and to portend ruin to the British possessions, as well as to the British navy, in those seas. The storm blew over without a single explosion. A pestilential distemper, which broke out among the Spanish troops, at first occasioned some delay; and a difference of opinion between the commanders of the allied fleets prevented their co-operating in any enterprise. After remaining inactive for several weeks in the bay of Fort Royal, they all put to sea in the night of the 5th of July, and directed their course to St. Domingo. Here they separated, Don Solano proceeding with the Spanish fleet to the Havannah, and the Count de Guichen putting in to Cape François, where he remained till the homeward-bound trade from the French islands had assembled, when, taking it under his protection, he sailed directly for Europe. Sir George Rodney, thinking that the count only meant to convoy the trade to a certain latitude, and then proceed to the continent of America, sailed thither himself with eleven ships of the line and four frigates, to be in readiness to thwart the designs of his old enemy in every quarter. Although he found, soon after his arrival at New York, in September, that this effort of his zeal for the public service might have been

dispensed with, yet, in the end, he had no cause to regret the trouble which he had taken, as it proved the means of saving the squadron under his immediate command from one of the most dreadful hurricanes that had ever swept the seas or desolated the islands in the West Indies.

On the departure of the British fleet from Gibraltar, the blockade was immediately resumed; and, notwithstanding the ample supplies lately received, the garrison soon began again to experience the inconvenience of wanting fresh provisions. It had hitherto received these in abundance from the coast of Barbary; but an unaccountable alteration had now taken place, so that the friendship of the Emperor of Morocco was transferred from Great Britain to Spain in a manner totally unprecedented. His partiality towards the latter was the more surprising, as Britain had given no provocation, and the enmity between Spain and Morocco seemed to be in a manner constitutional, and founded upon such causes as could never cease to operate. Thus, however, the garrison became daily more and more distressed, from being obliged to make constant use of their salt provisions, and even this with the strictest economy. The industry and resolution of the British seamen and officers, indeed, sometimes overcame all obstacles, so that they found means to procure the necessary refreshments; though in so doing they were certainly exposed to the utmost danger from the enemy. At the same time the defence of the garrison was so vigorous, that, while it continued to be supplied even in this scanty manner, the Spaniards began to lose all hope of reducing it; for which reason they formed a project of burning all the British shipping in the bay. The night appointed for putting this scheme in execution was the 6th of June, 1780, when ten fire-ships, favoured by an uncommon darkness, stood over from the Spanish to the British side of the bay. Their design was to set fire to the storehouses

storehouses nearest the water side, as well as to the shipping there; but having been too precipitate in firing their ships, and being received also by a very heavy cannonade, the attempt was frustrated. On this occasion the skill and intrepidity of the British seamen was eminently displayed. Having manned their boats, they grappled the fire-ships already in flames; and, notwithstanding their dreadful appearance and the danger of their exploding, towed them clear of the vessels under the walls, and extinguished them.

The failure of this project was a grievous disappointment to Don Barcelo the Spanish admiral, who lay ready with his squadron to intercept the British vessels that might attempt to escape; at the same time that the batteries on their lines were in readiness to bombard the town, if the fire-ships had succeeded in causing any conflagration on-shore. The failure of the present attempt, however, was soon followed by other disasters. As soon as they had, with great labour, pushed forward their new works, and constructed new batteries, they were certainly destroyed by the besieged; and their mortification on these occasions was the greater, as it was usual for the governor to allow them to complete their works before he commenced his destructive operations. Thus the labour of many days was often lost in a few hours, and afterwards was to be resumed with as little prospect of success as before. The garrison were now considerably annoyed by the Spanish gun-boats, to which indeed the shipping were equally exposed with themselves. These were vessels from thirty to forty tons burden, constructed so that they lay low in the water, which rendered them difficult to be aimed at. They had fifteen oars on a side, carried forty or fifty men, with a twenty-six pounder on the prow; and, from the facility of managing them, two were deemed, in calm weather, to be a match for a frigate of moderate size.

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All their efforts, however, could still do no more than to reduce the garrison to great straits for want of provisions; and to this dreadful inconvenience the British submitted with the greatest cheerfulness.

The siege and blockade continued till the peace in 1783, the account of which, however, we shall at once bring to a conclusion in this place.

From the time of Admiral Rodney's departure in February, 1780, to the month of October, almost the only provisions in the garrisons were such as tended to produce the scurvy; which accordingly raged in such a manner as to threaten the most fatal consequences. An antidote, however, was happily procured by the capture of a Danish dogger from Malaga laden with lemons and oranges, which the governor immediately purchased for the use of the garrison, and distributed among them. Till this month the allowance of salt provisions had continued undiminished; but now it was judged necessary to reduce the allowance of bread and meat, and to make some other regulations in order to enforce the strictest economy with regard to food.

At last, on the 12th of April 1781, supplies were brought by the British fleet under admirals Darby, Digby, and Ross, though they could not be got in without great difficulty. The gun-boats already-mentioned were now much increased in number and strength of construction; infesting the bay in such a manner as greatly to interrupt the debarkation of the stores. As no vessels of the same kind had been prepared to oppose them, they could scarcely be prevented from effecting their purpose of burning the store-ships. With this view they had approached them every morning in hazy weather to the number of between twenty and thirty, several of them carrying mortar pieces; and, as they used both sails and oars, they eluded all pursuit, by withdrawing on the rise of any breeze. To keep off these troublesome guests, several stout frigates were obliged to station themselves

themselves along the bay for the protection of the shipping; but even this did not prevent them from continuing their molestation; and notwithstanding the vigilance and activity of the British sailors, it was seldom that they could come near enough to do them any damage.

In spite of all their endeavours, however, the garrison was effectually relieved; an exploit which so exceedingly irritated the court of Spain, that they determined to exert the utmost force of the kingdom rather than fail in the execution of their favourite project. The works before the town were therefore carried on with more vigour than ever, and the most tremendous preparations made to cause the obstinate garrison to feel the resentment of an exasperated enemy. Their batteries were now mounted with guns of the heaviest metal, and with mortar-pieces of the largest size; the number of the former augmented to near two hundred, and of the latter to upwards of eighty. For three weeks this prodigious artillery continued to pour forth an almost incessant shower of shot and shells, insomuch that, in the time just mentioned, they had consumed one hundred thousand pounds of gunpowder, and thrown into the town four or five thousand shot or shells every twenty-four hours.

By such an immense bombardment the town was almost totally laid in ruins. The inhabitants, computed at more than three thousand in number, experienced every difficulty that could arise from the destruction of their habitations: several of them were killed, and all forced to leave the town, and take shelter under tents with what accommodation could be provided for them in such scenes of horror and confusion. Numbers took the opportunity of retiring with the fleet; while many that remained were now reduced from a state of opulence to the greatest distress. The conduct of Governor Elliot was very humane and compassionate to such as were obliged to stay;

stay; allowing them a free passage to England, and supplying them with provisions for the voyage.

During this bombardment, not only the greatest part of the effects belonging to the inhabitants were destroyed, but the fortifications were in many places greatly injured; and the worst was, that the remainder were destroyed by the soldiers, who had arrived at such a pitch of licentiousness, that they neither regarded nor would obey their officers. They were incited to this destructive scheme by the avarice of some of the inhabitants, who had hoarded up and concealed a quantity of necessary articles, in order to procure an advanced price. They now, therefore, kept no bounds in dissipation, waste, and extravagance; a remarkable instance of which is given by Captain Drinkwater, in their roasting a pig by a fire made of cinnamon. To put a stop to these atrocious proceedings, rigorous measures were of necessity adopted; and it was intimated, that any soldier convicted of being drunk or asleep upon his post, or found marauding, should be immediately executed.

By the beginning of June 1781, the enemy had relaxed considerably in their firing, seldom exceeding six hundred shot in a day; and continued gradually to diminish this number so remarkably, that towards the end of August they seldom fired in the day, and only discharged six or seven, and sometimes not above three, shot in the night. The batteries at land, however, were succeeded by the gun-boats; which renewed their attacks every day, keeping the garrison in continual alarm, and never failing to do more or less execution. To restrain them, therefore, a battery of guns capable of throwing their shot to a great distance was erected as near as possible to the enemy; and, as it reached their very camp, it was determined to open it upon them as often as the gun-boats made their attacks; which being soon perceived, they thought it prudent to desist in some measure from that mode

mode of hostility. They continued still, however, to improve their works, and for this purpose employed the best engineers both of France and Spain; so that, by the latter part of November 1781, they had them brought to such a state of perfection as filled both kingdoms with the most sanguine expectations of success. Governor Elliot, far from being dismayed at these formidable bulwarks, suffered them to proceed without molestation to the end of their scheme, that he might, as in a moment, destroy the labour of so many months, and thus render the disappointment the greater.

In the night of the 27th of November, a chosen party of two thousand men was detached, in order to destroy the enemies works and batteries; and their success was equal to their most sanguine expectation. They marched out in great order and silence about two o'clock in the morning, under the command of Brigadier-general Ross; after which they proceeded with the same circumspection, but with the utmost celerity, to the enemy's works, which they stormed and overthrew with astonishing rapidity. The Spaniards were instantly thrown into confusion, and fled on every side; the guns and mortars on the batteries were all spiked up; and the artillery-men, artificers, and sailors, exerted themselves so vigorously, that in the space of an hour the magazines were blown up, the store-houses of arms, ammunition, and military implements of every kind, and all the works that had been constructed, were set on fire, and totally consumed; the whole damage done on this occasion being estimated at upwards of two millions sterling.

For several days after this disaster the Spaniards continued inactive, without even making any attempt to extinguish their batteries, which still continued in flames; but in the beginning of December, as if suddenly aroused from their reverie, upwards of one thousand men were set to work in order to prepare a

great number of fascines, from whence it was concluded that they designed to repair their works. In this they proceeded with their usual perseverance and diligence; but, as the former methods of attack had constantly failed, it was evident, that, if the place could be reduced at all, it must be by some means hitherto unattempted; and for the reduction of this single fortress, the Spanish monarch, after the conquest of Minorca, determined to employ the whole strength of his empire.

Among the various projects formed at this time, that of the Chevalier d'Arcon, a French engineer of distinction, proved the most acceptable to the court of Spain; and, though the expence attending it was immense, this seemed, in the present circumstances, to be but a matter of small consideration. His plan was to construct such floating batteries as might neither be liable to be sunk nor set on fire. With this view their bottoms were made of the thickest timber, and their sides of wood and cork long soaked in water, with a layer of wet sand betwixt them. Their thickness was such, that they were impenetrable to cannon shot; and to prevent the effects of red-hot balls, a number of pipes were contrived to carry water through every part of the vessel, and pumps sufficient to furnish a constant supply for the purpose. The people at the batteries were sheltered from the bombs by a rope-netting made sloping, that they might roll off, and spread with wet skins to prevent fire. Ten of these batteries were constructed out of the hulls of large vessels, some of fifty or sixty guns, cut down for that purpose, and carrying from ten to twenty-eight guns each, with about half as many in reserve in case of accidents. Each gun was served by thirty-six artillery-men; and these floating batteries were to be seconded by eighty large boats carrying guns and mortars of heavy metal; a great number of ships of force and frigates, with some hundreds of small craft, were

were to accompany them with troops, for the instant execution of what might be judged necessary.

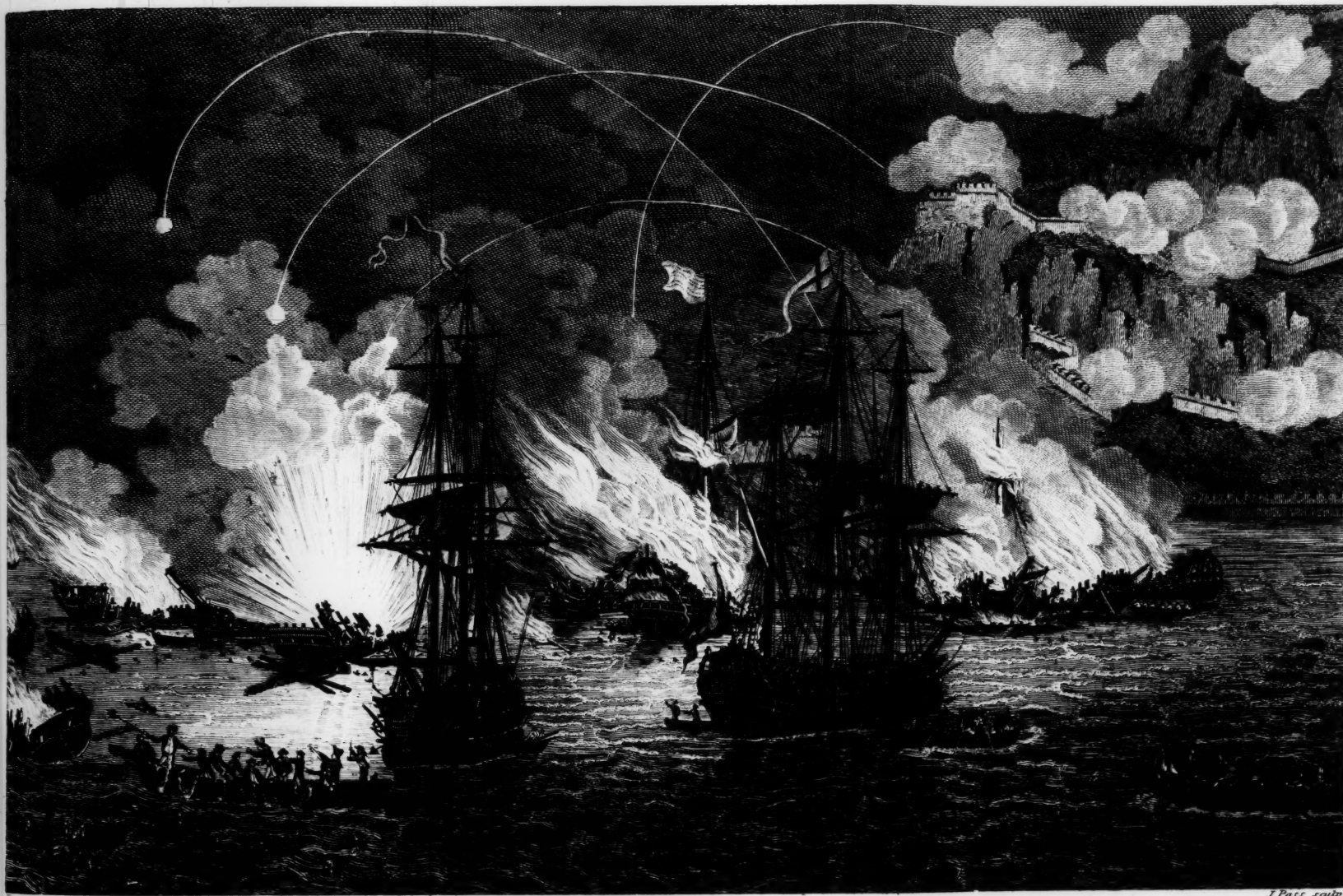
On this occasion upwards of one thousand pieces of artillery and eighty thousand barrels of gun-powder were provided. A body of twelve thousand of the best troops of France were now added to the Spanish army before the place; the body of engineers was the best that both kingdoms could produce; and numbers of volunteers, of the best families in both, attended the siege. Numbers of military gentlemen also came from every part of Europe to be witnesses of what passed at their celebrated siege, which was now compared to the most famous recorded in history. The conducting of it was committed to the Duke de Crillon, who had distinguished himself by the conquest of Minorca. Two princes of the blood royal of France, the Count of Artois brother to the king, and the Duke of Bourbon his cousin, came to be witnesses of this extraordinary enterprize. These behaved with the greatest politeness both to the governor and garrison. The Count of Artois transmitted a packet of letters for various individuals in the garrison, which had been intercepted and carried to Madrid, and which he requested that he might be the means of conveying to those for whom they were designed. Both he and the Duke of Bourbon signified to General Elliot the high regard they had for his person and character; and the Duke de Crillon himself took this opportunity of expressing the same sentiments, and to intreat him to accept of some refreshments. General Elliot returned a polite answer, but accepted of the present with reluctance, and requested him for the future not to confer any favours of that kind upon him.

Such a prodigious armament raised the confidence of the besiegers so high, that they looked upon the conquest of the place as an absolute certainty. They began to be impatient at the delays which arose in

bringing matters to the utmost point of perfection; and the commander in chief was thought by far too modest, when he said, that the garrison might hold out for a fortnight.

As a prelude to the dreadful storm which was about to be poured forth on this devoted garrison, the enemy, on the 9th of September 1782, opened a battery of sixty-four of their largest cannon, which was shortly accompanied with a terrible fire from other batteries, and a great number of mortars. On this and the following day an attack was made upon the batteries erected on Europa Point, (so called from being the most southerly point of the continent of Europe,) which at that time were entirely under the management of Captain Curtis of the Brilliant frigate, who had distinguished himself during the siege, and now commanded a brigade of seamen by whom the batteries were served. By these the fire of the Spaniards was so warmly returned, that they not only could make no impression, but were forced to retire, after having received so much damage, that two of their principal ships were obliged to withdraw to the bay of Algeiras, opposite to Gibraltar, in order to refit. On the 12th the enemy made preparations for the ensuing day, which was allotted for their grand and decisive attack. Accordingly, on the morning of the 13th, the ten floating batteries came forward, under the command of Don Buenventura de Moreno, a Spanish officer of great gallantry, and who had signalized himself at the taking of Minorca. Before ten o'clock they had all got into their proper stations, anchoring in a line about a thousand yards distant from the shore. As soon as they were properly arranged, they began a heavy cannonade, and were seconded by all the cannon and mortars in the enemy's lines and approaches, at the same time that the garrison opened all its batteries both with hot and cold shot from the guns, and shells from the howitzers and mortars.

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orderly ad.

J. Pass sculp.

Destruction of the Spanish Gun-boats and Floating Batteries, at the Siege of Gibraltar, by the Governor General Elliott, Sep. 13.th 1782.

London Published as the Act directs 1786.



W. P. 1765

Sir Roger Curtis Bart.

REAR ADMIRAL of the RED.

Published as the Act directs Sept. 1. 1795

This terrible fire continued on both sides without intermission until noon; when that of the Spaniards began to slacken, and the fire of the garrison to obtain a superiority. About two o'clock the principal battering ship commanded by Don Moreno was observed to emit smoke as if on fire, and some men were seen busy upon the roof searching from whence it proceeded. The fire from the garrison was now kept up without the least discontinuance or diminution, while that from the floating batteries was perceived sensibly to decrease; so that about seven in the evening they fired but few guns, and that only at intervals. At midnight the admiral's ship was plainly seen to burn, and an hour after was completely in flames. Eight more of these batteries took fire successively; and on the signals of distress made by them, the multitude of feluccas, launches, and boats, with which they were surrounded, all came to their assistance, and began to take the men out of the burning vessels. Captain Curtis, who lay ready with the gun-boats to take advantage of any favourable circumstance, came upon them at two in the morning, and, forming a line on the enemy's flank, advanced upon them with such order and expedition as to throw them into immediate confusion. At this sudden and unexpected attack they were so astonished and disconcerted, that they fled precipitately with all their boats, totally abandoning their floating batteries to be burnt, and all who were in them to perish in the flames. This would undoubtedly have been their fate, had not Captain Curtis extricated them from the fire at the imminent danger of his own life and that of his men. In this work he was so eager, that, while his boat was along-side of one of the largest batteries, it blew up, and, the fragments of the wreck spreading all around to a vast distance, some heavy pieces of timber fell into his boat and pierced through its bottom, killing one man and wounding several others. He escaped
with

with difficulty out of this boat, which was sunk, as well as another, by the same accident. The floating batteries were every one consumed; and the violence with which they exploded was such, that doors and windows at a great distance on-shore were burst open. About four hundred people were saved from them; many of whom were picked up floating on rafts and pieces of timber. Indeed the blowing up of the batteries as the flames reached their powder-rooms, and the discharge of the guns in succession as the metal became heated by the fire, rendered any attempt to save them very dangerous.

Though this terrible repulse effectually convinced the Spaniards that Gibraltar could not be taken by force, some hope still remained, that, without any further exertions on their part, the garrison would be obliged to surrender from want of ammunition and provisions. With this view they continued to blockade it closely, and to cut off all communication, flattering themselves that Britain would not be able to collect a naval force sufficient to drive their fleet from the bay before the fortress was reduced to extremity; and this, they imagined, must be the case in a few days. Such diligence, however, had been used on the part of the British, that a fleet was already assembled at Portsmouth, consisting of thirty-five sail of the line, in excellent condition, and filled with the best officers and sailors in Europe. The command was given to Lord Howe, who was accompanied in the expedition by Admirals Barrington, Milbank, Hood, Sir Richard Hughes, and Commodore Hotham, all of them men eminent in their profession.

The progress of these ships was delayed by contrary winds, and it was not until they had gained the southern coast of Portugal that they received information of the defeat of the enemy's attempt on the 13th of September. On the 11th of October Lord Howe entered the Straits, and several of the store-ships destined





J. Chapman sculp.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Printed and sold at the "Edinburgh Press" by J. Wilson.

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destined for Gibraltar came safe to anchor under the cannon of the fort without any molestation from the enemy. The combined fleet in the mean time had been much damaged by a storm; they however put to sea on the 13th, with a view to prevent the remaining store-ships that had overshot the bay to the east from making good their entrance into it; and at the same time to rejoin two ships that had been separated from the main body by the storm. Having the advantage of the wind, they bore down upon the British fleet, which drew up in order of battle to receive them; but, notwithstanding their superiority, they declined coming to an engagement. On the wind becoming more favourable next day, Lord Howe took the opportunity to bring in the storeships that were in company; and the day following the remainder were conveyed to Gibraltar, the troops for the reinforcement of the garrison were landed, with a large supply of powder, and ample provision in every other respect. As they returned through Straits, they were threatened with an engagement by the combined fleets; but, though the latter had a superiority of twelve ships of the line, they kept at a wary distance. Some firing indeed took place, but it was attended with little effect on either side.

This last relief proved entirely decisive; for though the blockade continued till news arrived of the preliminaries of peace being signed, in the beginning of February 1783, no other attack was made. The news of the pacification were received with the utmost joy by the Spaniards. Mutual civilities passed between the commanders in chief, and the Duke de Crillon paid many handsome compliments to the governor and garrison for their noble defence.

To return to the domestic affairs of the year 1780. —In the beginning of February, a plan was brought forward by Mr. Burke, for securing the independency of parliament, and introducing economy into the
various

various departments of government. This plan, among other things, proposed the abolition of the offices of treasurer, comptroller, and cofferer, of the household; treasurer of the chamber, master of the household, the board of green cloth, with several other places under the steward of the household; the great and removing wardrobe, the jewel-office, the robes, board of works, and the civil branch of the board of ordnance. Other reformatations were also proposed; but though the temper of the times obliged the minister to admit the bills, and even to pretend an approbation of the plan, he meant nothing less than to admit it in its full extent, or indeed in any part, if it could possibly be prevented. When the plan, therefore, which he had approved in general, came to be particularly considered, he was found to be determined against every part of it. The general temper of the people, without doors, however, seemed now to have affected many of the members of parliament, and made them desert their old standard. An economical plan proposed in the house of lords by the Earl of Shelburne was rejected only by a majority of 101 to 55. This was the strongest opposition that had appeared in that house for many years; but in the lower house matters still went worse. The first proposition in Mr. Burke's plan was to abolish the office of secretary of state for the colonies; and the utmost efforts of administration could preserve this office only by a majority of 208 to 201. The board of trade was *abolished* by 207 to 198: but this was the only defeat sustained by ministry at present; all the rest of the plan being rejected excepting only one clause, by which it was determined that the offices of lieutenant and ensign, &c. belonging to the yeomen of the guards, should not any longer be sold, but given to officers in the army and navy on half-pay, and of fifteen years standing in their respective lines of service.

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This ill success was very mortifying to Mr. Burke, who had expected to save more than a million annually to the nation. Administration, however, had still a greater defeat to meet with than what they had experienced in the abolition of the board of trade. The 6th of April was the day appointed for taking into consideration the numerous petitions, from half the kingdom of England, already mentioned. They were introduced by Mr. Dunning; who, in a very elaborate speech, set forth the many attempts that had been made to introduce reformation and economy into the plans of government. These had been defeated by ministerial artifice, or overthrown by mere dint of numbers: he concluded therefore, and moved as a resolution of the house, "That the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." This motion being *carried* after a long and violent debate, he next moved, that the house of commons was as competent to examine into and correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil list as in any other branch of the public revenue. To this another was added by Mr. Thomas Pitt, that it was the duty of the house to provide an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions. The ministry now requested that nothing farther might be done that night: but such was the temper of the house, that both these motions were carried without a division; after which they were read a first and second time, and agreed to without a division.

Ministry had never received such a complete defeat, nor ever been treated with so much asperity of language. The news of the proceedings of this day were received by the people at large with as much joy as if the most complete victory over a foreign enemy had been announced. Opposition, however, though masters of the field at present, did not imagine they had obtained any permanent victory, and therefore resolved to make the most of the advantages

they had gained. It was moved by Mr. Dunning at the next meeting, that to ascertain the independence of parliament, and remove all suspicions of its being under undue influence, there should, every session, seven days after the meeting of parliament, be laid before that house an account of all the sums issued out of the civil list, or any other branch of the revenue, since the last recess, in favour of any of its members. This passed with little difficulty; but when he moved that the treasurers of the chamber and household, the cofferer, comptroller, and master of the household, with the clerks of the green cloth, and their deputies, should be excluded from having seats in the house, a warm debate ensued; and the motion was carried only by 215 against 213. This was the last triumph of the popular party; their next motion, for the exclusion of revenue officers, being thrown out by 224 against 195. A last effort was made by Mr. Dunning's proposal of an address to the throne against proroguing or dissolving the parliament, until measures had been taken to prevent the improper influence complained of in the petitions. On this occasion the debates were long and violent; but the motion was lost by 254 against 203. Ministry would gladly have screened their friends from the vengeance of opposition; alleging the lateness of the hour, it being then past midnight. The speaker of the house, however, perceiving Mr. Fox about to rise, insisted that the house should remain sitting; and thus the deserters from the popular party were condemned to hear their conduct set forth in such terms as perhaps were never applied on any other occasion to members of the British senate.

This last victory of administration confirmed the dissatisfaction and ill opinion which the people had conceived of the majority of their representatives. It was in the height of that ill temper which the conduct of parliament had created in the multitude, that those discontents broke out which were so near involving

involving the kingdom in universal desolation.— The relief granted to the Roman catholics, in the session of 1778, was at the time very generally approved of throughout England; but in Scotland, the spirit of bigotry and fanaticism immediately took the alarm, and, on the bare suspicion that a similar indulgence was to be extended to the papists in that part of the kingdom, Edinburgh and Glasgow were filled with tumult: the popish chapel in the metropolis was destroyed; and the houses of the principal catholics were attacked and plundered. Instead of opposing the frantic rabble with firmness and spirit, the lord provost issued a singular proclamation, ascribing the riots to the “apprehensions, fears, and distressed minds of *well-meaning* people,” and assuring them, “that no repeal of the penal statutes against papists in Scotland would take place.”

Encouraged by this pusillanimity, the species of persecution was gradually extended to England; and a society was formed in London, which took the title of the Protestant Association, of which Lord George Gordon, who had rendered himself conspicuous in Scotland by his opposition to the repeal, was elected president; and it now prepared to act in a decisive manner against the resolutions of the legislature.

On the 29th of May 1780, the associators held a meeting in order to settle in what manner they should present a petition to the house of commons against the repeal of the penal statutes. A long speech was made on this occasion by their president, who represented the Roman persuasion as gaining ground rapidly in this country; that the only method of stopping its progress, was to go up with a spirited remonstrance to their representatives, and to tell them in plain and resolute terms that they were determined to preserve their religious freedom with their lives, &c.

This harangue being received with the loudest applause, he moved, that the whole body of the associa-

tion should meet on the 2d day of June in St. George's Fields, at ten in the morning, to accompany him to the house of commons on the delivery of the petition. This being unanimously assented to, he informed them, that if he found himself attended by fewer than 20,000, he would not present the petition. He then directed they should form themselves into four divisions; the first, second, and third, to consist of those who belonged to the City, Westminster, and Southwark; the fourth of the Scotch residents in London. They were, by way of distinction, to wear blue cockades in their hats.

Three days previous to the presentation of the petition, he gave notice of it to the house, and acquainted it with the manner in which it was to be presented; but this was received with as much indifference and unconcern as all his former intimations.

On the 2d of June, according to appointment, about 50 or 60,000 men assembled in St. George's Fields. They drew up in four separate divisions, as had been agreed, and proceeded to the parliament house, with Lord George Gordon at their head. An immense roll of parchment was carried before them, containing the names of those who had signed the petition, or put their marks. On their way to the house, they behaved with great peaceableness and decency; but as soon as they were arrived, great disturbances took place. The rioters began by compelling all the members of both houses they met with, to put blue cockades in their hats, and call out, "No Popery." They forced some to take an oath that they would vote for the repeal of the popery act, as they styled it. They treated others with great indignity, posting themselves in all the avenues to both houses; the doors of which they twice endeavoured to break open.

Their rage was chiefly directed against the members of the house of lords; several of whom narrowly escaped with their lives. During these disturbances;

Lord

Lord George Gordon moved for leave to bring up the petition. This was readily granted; but when he proposed it should be taken into immediate consideration, it was strenuously opposed by almost the whole house. Enraged at this opposition, he came out several times to the people during the debates, acquainting them how averse the house appeared to grant their petition, and naming particularly those who had spoken against it.

Several members of the house expostulated with him in the warmest terms on the unjustifiableness of his conduct; and one of his relations, Colonel Gordon, threatened to run him through the moment any of the rioters should force their entrance into the house. It was some hours before the house could carry on its deliberations with any regularity, which was not done till the members were relieved by the arrival of a party of the guards. Order being restored, the business of the petition was resumed; when Lord George Gordon told them it had been signed by near 120,000 British Protestant subjects. He therefore insisted that the petition should be considered without delay. But notwithstanding the dangers with which they were menaced, and the proof which the mover of the petition had given that no means would be left unemployed to compel them to grant it, the commons continued immoveable in their determination. Of 200 members, then present in the house, six only voted for it. In the mean time, the mob had dispersed itself into various parts of the metropolis, where they demolished two Romish chapels belonging to foreign ministers; and openly vented the most terrible menaces against all people of that persuasion.

On the 4th of June they assembled in great numbers in the eastern parts of London; and attacked the chapels and houses of the Roman Catholics in that quarter, stripping them of their contents, which they
threw

threw into the street, and committed to the flames. They renewed their outrages on the following day, destroying several Romish chapels, and demolishing the house of Sir George Saville in resentment of his having brought into parliament the bill in favour of the Roman Catholics.

Next day both houses met as usual; but, finding that no business could be done, they adjourned to the 19th.

During this day and the following, which were the 6th and 7th of June, the rioters were absolute masters of the metropolis and its environs. Some of those who had been concerned in the demolition of the chapels belonging to foreign ministers, having been seized and sent to Newgate, the mob collected before that prison, and demanded their immediate release. On being refused, they proceeded to throw fire-brands and all manner of combustibles into the keeper's house; which unhappily communicated the fire to the whole building; so that this immense pile was soon in flames. In this scene of confusion the prisoners were all released. They amounted to about 300; among whom several were under sentence of death. They set fire, in the same manner, to the King's-bench and Fleet prisons, and to a number of houses belonging to Roman Catholics. The terror occasioned by these incendiaries was such, that most people hung out of their windows pieces of blue silk, which was the colour assumed by the rioters; and chalked on their doors and shutters the words, "No Popery," by way of signifying they were friendly to their cause.

The night of the 7th of June concluded these horrors. No less than thirty-six different conflagrations were counted at the same time. The Bank had been threatened, and was twice assailed; but happily was too well guarded for their attempts. In the evening, large bodies of troops arrived from all parts, and
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came in time to put a stop to the progress of the rioters. They fell upon them every where, and many were slain and wounded, besides the numbers that perished through intoxication. It was not until the afternoon of the 8th, that people began to recover from their consternation. During great part of the day, the disorders of the preceding night had created so terrible an alarm, that the shops were almost universally shut up over all London. The melancholy effects of misguided zeal were not, however, confined solely to London. The outrageous disposition of the populace was preparing to act the like horrid scenes in other parts of England. The mob rose in Hull, Bristol, and Bath; but through the timely interposition of the magistracy, these places were saved from their fury.

On the subsiding of this violent and unexpected commotion, it was thought proper to secure Lord George Gordon. He was arrested, and committed close prisoner to the Tower, after having undergone a long examination before the principal lords of the council. He was after tried for high treason, and acquitted.

The members of the house of commons began to assemble early on the 8th of June; but upon the speaker's pointing out to such as were present the impossibility of exercising their legislative functions, while the city of Westminster was under martial law, they adjourned to the 19th, as the lords had done two days before. The meeting of both houses, after this compelled recess, was opened by his majesty with a very judicious speech, lamenting the necessity which had obliged him, by every tie of duty and affection to his people, to employ the force entrusted to him for the suppression of those acts of felony and treason, which had overborne all civil authority, and threatened the immediate subversion of the legal power, the destruction of all property, and the confusion of every order

order in the state. Addresses of thanks were voted in reply to this speech, without a single negative in either house. The various petitions were now taken into consideration that had been presented for the repeal of the act which had occasioned the riots; but the house continued in the same mind. It was determined that no repeal of the act in favour of the Roman catholics should take place, as the grievances said to arise from it were imaginary: but the committee agreed to several resolutions, tending to set the conduct of parliament in a fair light, and to undeceive the ill-informed yet well-meaning part of the petitioners against that act. A bill was also carried through the lower house to restrain papists from taking upon them the education of protestant children; but many of the lords thinking it derogatory from their dignity and independence to have *any* bill forced upon them by popular outrage, or passed through a weak compliance with absurd prejudices, threw out the bill.

As some good is often observed to arise out of the greatest evils, so government derived at this time no final increase of power and stability from those very riots, which aimed at nothing less than its total subversion. The nation could not have received a more seasonable warning of the dreadful excesses, into which popular associations for any reform or pretended redress of grievances are too apt to lead; and the frenzy of the fanatics served to shew how easily the passions of ignorant men may be inflamed by the most frivolous and imaginary causes of complaint. The numberless discontents, which the artifice of faction had been very successful in exciting, appeared now to be equally unfounded; and the strongest proof of this was, that the very year, in which they broke out with so much violence, had been hitherto marked with unusual plenty at home, and the most brilliant successes abroad.

While the British were making the most vigorous efforts

efforts, and even in the main getting the better of the powers who opposed them fairly in the field, enemies were raised up throughout all Europe, who, by reason of their acting indirectly, could neither be opposed nor resisted. The power which most openly manifested its hostile intentions was Holland; but besides this, a most formidable confederacy, under the title of the *armed neutrality*, was formed, evidently with a design to crush the power of Great Britain. Of this confederacy the Empress of Russia declared herself the head; and her plan was intimated as early as the 26th of February 1780, in a declaration addressed to the courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid. The grand principle of this scheme was, that a free ship should make free goods, or, in other words, that a neutral ship, although loaded with a cargo belonging to one of the powers at war; should pass as free and unmolested as in time of peace.

The memorial of the Empress of Russia, though very unfavourable to the views of Great Britain, received a civil answer from that court: but by other powers it was received, as it might naturally be expected, with much more cordiality. In the answer of the king of France it was said, "what her imperial majesty claimed from the belligerent powers was nothing else than the rules prescribed to the French navy; the execution whereof was maintained with an exactness known and applauded by all Europe." The Kings of Sweden and Denmark also formally acceded to the armed neutrality proposed by the Empress of Russia, and declared their perfect approbation of her sentiments. The States general did the same: but, on account of that slowness of deliberation which prevails in the councils of the republic, it was not till towards the close of the year that their concurrence was notified to the court of Russia. It was resolved by the powers engaged in this armed neutrality to make a common cause of it at sea against any of the bellige-

rent powers who should violate, with respect to neutral nations, the principles which had been laid down in the memorial of the Empress of Russia.

Though the British ministry could not openly engage in war with all the other powers of Europe, they determined to take severe vengeance on the Dutch, whose ingratitude and perfidy now became a general subject of speculation. Ever since the commencement of hostilities with the Americans, the Dutch had shown much partiality towards them. This continued to be the case, even beyond what the natural avidity of a mercantile people could be supposed to produce: they not only supplied them with merchandize, but with warlike stores. After the interference of France and Spain in the quarrel, the selfish and treacherous conduct of the Dutch became still more evident. Their ports were open to the rebellious subjects as well as to the inveterate enemies of Great Britain; and the vast profits of a contraband trade made them regardless of every consideration of honour and friendship. Various remonstrances were made on this head by the British ambassador at the Hague, but without effect.

One of the subjects of complaint deserves particular notice. An encounter took place in the month of September, 1779, between Captain Pearson of the *Serapis* man of war, accompanied by the *Scarborough* frigate, having under their convoy the trade from the Baltic, and Paul Jones, the commander of an American squadron, which had for some time before infested the British seas. After a very fierce and bloody action, during which the convoy had full time to escape, the *Serapis* and *Scarborough* were taken and carried to the Texel. On this a very strong memorial was presented to the States General by Sir Joseph Yorke, claiming those ships and their crews, as having been captured by "a rebel subject and a criminal of the state." Their High Mightinesses replied, "that

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SIR RICHARD PEARSON

(Published as the act directs June 1.st 1790.)



W. Hayman sculpt.

JOHN PAUL JONES

Published as the Act directs. Aug^r 24th 1796



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“ that they were not authoris’d to pass judgment on those prizes or on the person of Paul Jones.” The breach between both countries grew wider and wider every day. About three months after the former event, Commodore Fielding fell in with a fleet of Dutch merchant ships, convoyed by a small squadron of men of war under Count Byland; and desiring permission to visit the merchant ships, in order to ascertain whether they contained any contraband goods, was peremptorily refused by the Dutch admiral. On this, he fired a shot a-head of the count, who returned a broadside: Commodore Fielding did the same; and then the Dutch immediately struck their colours. In the mean time the greatest part of the convoy bore away to the coast of France; but such of them as remained, and had naval stores on-board, were stopped, and the Dutch admiral was informed that he was at liberty to hoist his colours and prosecute his voyage. But he refused to quit his convoy, and accompanied the commodore to Portsmouth. It is no wonder, that the demand of redress made by the states, after so flagrant a breach of the law of nations on their part, should be treated with contempt by the British court. But, on the 17th of April following, his majesty published a declaration, stating “ that repeated memorials having been presented by his ambassador to the States General, demanding the succours stipulated by treaty, to which requisition they had given no answer, nor signified any intention of compliance, his majesty considered their High Mightinesses as having deserted the alliance that had so long subsisted between Great Britain and the republic; and his majesty from that time suspended, provisionally, all the stipulations of the several existing treaties, particularly of the marine treaty of 1674.” The immediate design of such explicit language was to convince the states of the determined spirit of the British cabinet, and to prevent them, if possible, from acceding to the late confederacy

racy of Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, the real object of which, under the show of protecting the freedom of commerce, was to render legitimate the most fraudulent intercourse between neutral powers and those at war. But the Dutch, equally unprepared for hostilities on the one hand, and unwilling on the other to forego the advantages of a gainful, though perfidious and illicit trade, had recourse, as usual, to procrastination and delay, till matters were brought to an issue by the incident of the Mercury congress packet being taken by the Vestal, with Mr. Laurens on-board, as mentioned, p. 183. His papers were found to contain the sketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the republic of Holland and the states of America, some articles of which had been provisionally agreed to and signed two years before at Aix-la-Chapelle by William Lee, formerly an alderman of London, but then an agent for congress, and John de Neufville, a merchant of Amsterdam, acting under powers delegated to him by the grand pensionary of that city. These papers were immediately transmitted to the British ambassador at the Hague, who was instructed to present a memorial to the States General, requiring them to disavow the proceedings of the grand pensionary and his accomplices, and to inflict upon them a punishment suitable to the magnitude of their offences: he was farther enjoined to declare, that, if satisfaction in these respects should be either refused or delayed, the States General would be considered as making themselves parties to the injury, and such measures be pursued as the law of nations authorised for compelling a reparation of the wrong. The memorial was accordingly presented; and no satisfactory answer being returned by the States General within the time expected, Sir Joseph Yorke was recalled, and on the 20th of December, 1780, letters of reprisal were ordered to be issued against the Dutch.

As the commencement of hostilities against the Dutch

Dutch had taken place during the Christmas recess, it did not become a subject of debate in the great council of the nation till the 25th of January. Parliament had been dissolved on the 1st of September, and a new one convened the 31st of October; but nothing worthy of notice had passed in either house before the holidays, except the election of a speaker of the commons, in which the strength of the opposition was vainly exerted for the re-appointment of Sir Fletcher Norton, there being only 134 voices in his favour, against 203 who voted for Mr. Cornwall. The royal message on the indispensable necessity of the war with the Dutch gave rise to long and angry, but uninteresting, discussions.

The accounts from the East Indies were very perplexing. A spirit of intrigue and conquest, of rapacity and ambition, seemed to have pervaded the whole system of British government in that part of the world, and to have at length provoked a most formidable confederacy of the native powers. While a part of the company's forces were engaged on one side in hostilities with the Mahrattas, Hyder Ally, on the other, broke into the Carnatic with a vast army in the month of July 1780, and committed the most dreadful ravages. On the 10th of September, he surrounded a large body of troops under Colonel Baillie, who were entirely cut to pieces, or made prisoners. He then attacked and made himself master of Arcot; and scarcely did the government of Madras believe itself to be in safety, when Sir Eyre Coote arrived to take the command of the forces on the coast of Coromandel, and by the most extraordinary efforts stopped Hyder's career, and defeated him in several engagements, in which, to use the gallant veteran's own words, "every nerve was exerted to the very extent of possibility." The first intelligence of those unexpected convulsions in the East occasioned the appointment of a secret committee of the house
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of commons to inquire into the causes of the Mah-ratta war, and that in the Carnatic. Their reports on the subject afterwards engaged no small share of public notice, but did not produce any effectual correction of the evil. A bill had likewise been brought in, and was passed at the close of the session, for restraining the arbitrary encroachments of the supreme court of judicature in Bengal; and another, by which the company were, for a limited term, continued in the enjoyment of their present privileges, with a clause compelling them to pay about 400,000*l.* to the public, in aid of supply, and as a just participation in their revenues and profits.

The military history of the present year was marked in its commencement by a second attempt of the French upon the island of Jersey. The Baron de Rullecourt, who had been next in command to Count Nassau in the former attack, landed with about 800 men at a place called the Violet Bank in the night of the 15th of January; and, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, when the day began to dawn, the market-place of St. Helier was found occupied by French troops. The house of Major Corbet, the lieutenant-governor, being entirely surrounded, he was so far intimidated as to sign articles of capitulation. But when Elizabeth Castle was summoned, Captain Aylward, the commander, far from paying the least regard to the acts of the governor in his present state of du-rance, fired upon the French and obliged them to retreat; and Major Pierfon, a young and gallant officer, second in command, having assembled the regular troops and militia of the island on the heights near the town, attacked the enemy with the greatest resolution. Baron Rullecourt being at the commencement of the action mortally wounded, the French troops in less than half an hour laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Unfortunately almost the last shot previous to the surrender proved

proved fatal to Major Pierfon, in whose conduct, during the whole of this tranfaction, difcretion and valour had been equally conspicuous.

Early information of the rupture with Holland having been tranfmitted to the Weft Indies, Admiral Rodney, who had returned to that ftation from New York, and General Vaughan, appeared with a confiderable force, in the beginning of February, 1781, before the ifland of St. Eufatia, that famous depot of wealth and mart of traffic. This ifland, though not twenty miles in circumference, abounded at that time with riches, by reafon of the vaft conflux of trade from every other ifland in thefe feas. Being a free port, it was open to all the fubjects of the belligerent powers; and thus a communication was eftablifhed among them, through which they were enabled to carry on a commercial correpondence, which greatly mitigated the inconveniences of war. The greateft benefit, however, was reaped by the Dutch; who, by tranfacting all trading bufinefs for other nations, were thus entrusted with numberlefs commiffions, and likewise enjoyed vaft profits from the fale of the merchandizes to which they were intitled. At the time the attack was made upon them, they were fo little under any apprehenfions of fuch an event, that their warehouses were not fufficient to contain the quantity of commercial articles imported for fale, and the beach and ftreets were covered with hogfheads of tobacco and fugar. In this fituation, Admiral Rodney fuddenly appeared before the ifland with fuch an armament of fea and land forces, as in its defencelefs fituation was not only ufelefs but ridiculous. The governor, De Graaf, could fcarcely credit the officer who fummoned him to furrender; but being convinced how matters flood, the only poffible ftep was taken, namely, to furrender the whole ifland, and every thing in it, at difcretion. The immense property of the ifland was declared to be confifcated, with a degree of indifcriminate rigour, which

which the past treachery of the Dutch could hardly justify. The value of the commodities thus seized was estimated at four millions sterling. A Dutch frigate of thirty-six guns, five others of inferior force, and more than two hundred sail of merchantmen, were taken in the bay; and a fleet of thirty ships richly laden, which had sailed for Holland two days before, were pursued and brought back, with a man of war that convoyed them, under the command of Admiral Byland, who lost his life in a vain effort of resistance. This capture became afterwards a subject of discussion in parliament, where the conduct of the British commanders was severely scrutinized by Mr. Burke. The admiral and general made their defence in person: but the minority at that time were far from being satisfied; and it was supposed that on the change of ministry a rigid inquiry would have been set on foot, had not the splendor of Admiral Rodney's victory over De Grasse put an end to all thoughts of that nature.

The neighbouring small islands of St. Martin and Saba were reduced in a similar manner; and, nearly about the same time, the Dutch settlements of Demerary, Iſſequibo, and Berbicia, on the southern main, made a tender of submission to the governor of Barbadoes, the rivers leading to the two former having been boldly entered, and all the vessels seized, by a squadron of privateers from Bristol. The deputies from those settlements were referred to Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan, who thought them deserving of more lenity than the people of St. Eustatia, and secured to them the full possession of their civil government and private property.

While the British commanders were detained in adjusting the concerns of their new acquisition, a French fleet under the Count de Grasse, after a partial engagement with Admiral Hood, whom Rodney had detached to intercept it, steered its course to the island of Tobago, on which the Marquis de Bouille made

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an immediate descent. The governor, Mr. Ferguson, made a gallant resistance; but was at last obliged to surrender, as no prospect of succours appeared. On his return to England, he complainly loudly that the island had been unnecessarily lost. Admiral Rodney had sent Rear-admiral Drake with six sail of the line, three frigates, and some troops, to the assistance of the island; but they were sent too late, and the island had capitulated before any relief was afforded it. In a letter of Admiral Rodney, which was published in the *Gazette*, some surprise was expressed, that the place had surrendered so soon: upon which Governor Ferguson published an account of the siege, signed with his name, in all the London papers, in which he re-criminated on the admiral. The governor's narrative was so perspicuous, so apparently satisfactory, and his charge against the admiral so strong, that it was thought incumbent on the latter to vindicate his conduct: but no answer to the governor's accusation ever appeared.

Admiral Rodney was baffled in all his attempts, during the remainder of the summer, to bring the enemy to a general engagement. Other mortifying circumstances soon concurred to render the conquest of St. Eustatia an object rather of vexation than of triumph: It seemed as if the spoil of that island had been subject to some fatality, which was to deprive the nation, as well as the captors, of its benefit. A rich convoy, freighted with the most valuable commodities taken there, was intercepted on its way to England by a French squadron; and the island itself, with its little dependencies, St. Martin's and Saba, were re-conquered in November by a small force under the Marquis de Bouille, which happened as follows: St. Eustatius is naturally of such difficult access, that it is almost impossible for an enemy to effect a landing if proper care is taken by those who are in possession of it. This very circumstance proved the ruin of the new possessors. The British, secure in their inacces-

fible situation, conducted themselves in such a manner as induced the Marquis de Bouille to make an attempt to regain it. Having sailed from Martinico at the head of 2000 men, he arrived, on the 26th of November 1781, off one of the landing places of the island, which was deemed so inaccessible that it had been left without a guard. With much loss and difficulty, however, he landed here with four or five hundred of his people during the night. The appearance of day put an end to his landing any more; and he now saw himself obliged either^e to relinquish the enterprize or to attack the garrison, which was almost double the number of those he had on the island. He chose the latter; and was favoured in his enterprize by the extreme negligence of his antagonists. A difficult pass, which a few men might have occupied with success against a great number, was left unguarded; this the marquis secured in time, and then pushed forward with the utmost expedition. The British, mistaking a body of Irish troops which attended the French commander for their own comrades, suffered them to approach without thinking of opposing them. They were then exercising on the parade; but were soon made sensible of their fatal mistake by a close discharge from their supposed friends, by which many were killed and wounded. The surprise occasioned by this sudden attack was so great, that no resistance could be made; especially as their commanding officer, Colonel Cockburn, who happened at that instant to come upon the parade, was made prisoner. A number of them, however, hastened to the fort with a view of making head against the enemy; but the French had already taken possession of the gate, and prevented the draw-bridge from being raised. They entered the fort; which, being surrendered by those who had taken shelter in it, the rest of the garrison, dispersed in various places, and imagining the number of the enemy to be much greater than it really was, submitted

ted without any opposition. The French commander took this opportunity of showing his disinterestedness in pecuniary matters. Among the spoils that fell into his hands, a large sum of money was claimed by the British commanding officer as being his private property, and it was generously restored to him; in like manner the property of the Dutch inhabitants was reserved to them, and nothing was allowed to be seized but the produce arising from the sale of prizes that had been taken by the English when they captured the island.

In America, at the beginning of the year 1781, an affair happened from which expectations were formed by Sir Henry Clinton, that some considerable advantage might be derived to the royal cause. The long continuance of the war, and the difficulties under which the congress laboured, had prevented their troops from being properly supplied with necessaries and conveniences. In consequence of this, on the 1st of January, the American troops that were huddled at Morris-town, and who formed what was called the *Pennsylvanian line*, turned out, being in number about 1300, and declared that they would serve no longer unless their grievances were redressed, as they had not received their pay, nor been furnished with the necessary clothing or provisions. It is said they were somewhat inflamed with liquor, in consequence of rum having been distributed to them more liberally than usual, New-year's day being considered as a kind of festival. A riot ensued, in which an officer was killed, and four wounded; five or six of the insurgents were also wounded. They then collected the artillery, stores, provisions, and waggons, and marched out of the camp. They passed by the quarters of General Wayne, who sent a message to them, requesting them to desist, or the consequences would prove fatal. They refused, and proceeded on their march till the evening, when they took post on an advantageous piece of ground, and elected officers from among themselves.

themselves. On the second, they marched to Middlebrook, and on the third to Prince-town, where they fixed their quarters. On that day a flag of truce was sent to them from the officers of the American camp, with a message, desiring to know what were their intentions. * Some of them answered, that they had already served longer than the time for which they were enlisted, and would serve no longer; and others, that they would not return unless their grievances were redressed. But at the same time they repeatedly, and in the strongest terms, denied being influenced by the least disaffection to the American cause, or having any intention of deserting to the enemy.

Intelligence of this transaction was soon conveyed to New York. A large body of British troops were immediately ordered to hold themselves in readiness to move on the shortest notice, it being hoped that the American revolvers might be induced to join the royal army. Messengers were also sent to them from General Clinton, acquainting them that they should directly be taken under the protection of the British government; that they should have a free pardon for all former offences; and that the pay due to them from the congress should be faithfully paid them, without any expectation of military service, unless it should be voluntary, upon condition of their laying down their arms and returning to their allegiance. It was also recommended to them to move beyond the South River; and they were assured, that a body of the British troops should be ready to protect them whenever they desired it. These propositions were rejected with disdain; and they even delivered up two of Sir Henry Clinton's messengers to the congress. Joseph Reed, Esq. president of the state of Pennsylvania, afterwards repaired to them at Prince-town, and an accommodation took place; such of them as had served out their full term, were permitted to return to their homes, and others again joined the American army,
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upon receiving satisfactory assurances that their grievances should be redressed.

Earl Cornwallis now made vigorous preparations to penetrate into North Carolina. On the 11th of January his lordship's army was in motion; but was somewhat delayed by an attempt made by the Americans, under General Morgan, to make themselves masters of the valuable district of Ninety-six. To prevent this, Lord Cornwallis detached Colonel Tarleton, with 300 cavalry, 300 light infantry, the seventh regiment, the first battalion of the seventy-first regiment, and two three-pounders, to oppose the progress of Morgan, not doubting but that he would be able to perform this service effectually. The British troops came up with the Americans on the 17th of January, at a place called the *Cow-pens*. They were drawn up in an open wood, and, having been lately joined by some militia, were more numerous than the British; but the latter were so much better disciplined, that they had the utmost confidence of obtaining a speedy victory. The attack was begun by the first line of infantry, consisting of the seventh regiment and a corps of light infantry, with a troop of cavalry placed on each flank. The first battalion of the seventy-first and the remainder of the cavalry formed the reserve. The American line soon gave way, and their militia quitted the field; upon which the royal troops, supposing the victory already gained, engaged with ardour in the pursuit, and were thereby thrown into some disorder. General Morgan's corps, who were supposed to have been routed, immediately faced about, and began a heavy fire upon the king's troops, which occasioned the utmost confusion amongst them; and they were at length totally defeated by the Americans. Four hundred of the British infantry were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners: the loss of the cavalry was much less considerable; but the two three-pounders fell into the hands of the Americans,
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together with the colours of the seventh regiment. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton gallantly made another effort; having assembled about fifty of his cavalry, with which he charged and repulsed Colonel Washington's horse, retook his baggage, and killed the Americans who were appointed to guard it. He then retreated to Hamilton's Ford, near the mouth of Bullock's Creek, carrying with him part of the baggage, and destroying the remainder.

This defeat was a severe stroke to Lord Cornwallis, as the loss of his light infantry was a great disadvantage to him. The day after that event, he employed in collecting the remains of Tarleton's corps, and in endeavouring to form a junction with General Leslie, who had been ordered to march towards him with some British troops from Wynneshorough. Considerable exertions were then made by part of the army, without baggage, to retake the prisoners in the hands of the Americans, and to intercept General Morgan's corps on its retreat to the Catawba. But that officer had made forced marches up the country, and crossed the Catawba the evening before a great rain, which swelled the river to such a degree, as to prevent the royal army from crossing for several days; by which time the British prisoners were got quite out of reach.

On the first of February, the king's troops crossed the Catawba at M'Cowan's Ford, where General Davidson, with a party of the American militia, was ordered to oppose their passage; but, that officer being killed by the first discharge, the royal troops made good their landing, and the militia retreated. When Lord Cornwallis arrived at Hillsborough, he erected the king's standard, and invited, by proclamation, all loyal subjects to repair to it, and to stand forth and take an active part in assisting his lordship to restore order and government. He had been taught to believe that the king's friends were numerous in that
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part of the country: but the event did not confirm the truth of the representations that had been made. The royalists were but few in number, and some of them too timid to join the king's standard. There were, indeed, about 200 who were proceeding to Hillsborough, under Colonel Pyle, in order to avow their attachment to the royal cause; but they were met accidentally, and surrounded, by a detachment from the American army, by whom a number of them are said to have been killed when they were begging for quarter, without making the least resistance. Meanwhile General Greene was marching with great expedition to form a junction with another corps of American troops, in order to put a stop to the progress of Lord Cornwallis.

In other places considerable advantages were obtained by the royal arms. On the 4th of January, some ships of war, with a number of transports, on-board which was a large body of troops under the command of General Arnold, arrived at Westover, about 140 miles from the Capes of Virginia, where the troops immediately landed and marched to Richmond; which they reached without opposition, the provincials having retreated on their approach. Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe marched from hence with a detachment of the British troops at Westham, where he destroyed one of the finest founderies for cannon in America, and a large quantity of stores and ammunition. General Arnold, on his arrival at Richmond, found large quantities of salt, rum, sail-cloth, tobacco, and other merchandise; and that part which was public property he destroyed. The British troops afterwards attacked and dispersed some small parties of the Americans, took some stores, and a few pieces of cannon; and, on the 20th of the same month, marched into Portsmouth. On the 25th, Captain Barclay, with several ships of war, and a body of troops under the command of Major Craig, arrived in Cape Fear

Fear river. The troops landed about nine miles from Wilmington, and on the 28th entered that town. It was understood, that their having possession of that town, and being masters of Cape Fear river, would be productive of very beneficial effects to Lord Cornwallis's army.

General Greene, having effected a junction, about the 10th of March, with a continental regiment, and two large bodies of militia, resolved to attack the British troops under Lord Cornwallis. The American army marched from the High Rock Ford on the 12th of the month, and on the 14th arrived at *Guildford*. Lord Cornwallis, from the information he had received of the motions of the American general, concluded what were his designs. As they approached more nearly to each other, a few skirmishes ensued between some advanced parties, in which the king's troops had the advantage. On the morning of the 15th, Lord Cornwallis marched at day-break to meet the Americans, or to attack them in their camp. About four miles from Guildford, the advanced guard of the British army, commanded by Colonel Tarleton, fell in with a corps of the Americans, consisting of Colonel Lee's legion, which he defeated.

The greater part of the country in which the action happened is a wilderness, with a few cleared fields interspersed. The American army, which was superior to the British in point of numbers, was posted on a rising ground. It was drawn up in three lines: the front line was composed of the North Carolina militia, under the command of Generals Butler and Eaton; the second line was of Virginia militia, commanded by Generals Stephens and Lawson, forming two brigades; the third line, consisting of two brigades, one of Virginia and one of Maryland continental troops, was commanded by General Hugar and Colonel Williams. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with the dragoons of the first and third regiments, a detachment
of

of light infantry composed of continental troops, and a regiment of riflemen under Colonel Lynch, formed a corps of observation for the security of their right flank. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, a detachment of light infantry, and a corps of riflemen under Colonel Campbell, formed a corps of observation for the security of their left flank. The attack was made by Lord Cornwallis, in the following order: on the right, the regiment of Bose and the seventy-first regiment, led by Major-general Leslie, and supported by the first battalion of guards; on the left, the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, led by Lieutenant-colonel Webster, and supported by the grenadiers and second battalion of guards commanded by General O'Hara; the yagers and light infantry of the guards remained in a wood, on the left of the guns, and the cavalry in the road, ready to act as circumstances might require.

About half an hour after one in the afternoon, the action commenced by a cannonade, which lasted about twenty minutes; when the British troops advanced in three columns, and attacked the North Carolina brigade with great vigour, and soon obliged part of these troops, who behaved very ill, to quit the field: but the Virginia militia kept up a heavy fire for a long time, till, being beaten back, the action became general every where. The American corps, under Colonels Washington and Lee, did considerable execution. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton had directions to keep his cavalry compact, and not to charge without positive orders, excepting to protect any of the corps from the most evident danger of being defeated. The excessive thickness of the woods rendered the British bayonets of little use, and enabled the broken corps of Americans to make frequent stands with an irregular fire. The second battalion of the guards first gained the clear ground near Guildford court-house, and found a corps of continental

infantry, superior in number, formed in an open field on the left of the road. Desirous of signalizing themselves, they immediately attacked and soon defeated them, taking two six-pounders; but, as they pursued the Americans into the wood with too much ardour, they were thrown into confusion, and instantly charged and driven back into the field by Lieutenant-colonel Washington's dragoons, with the loss of the six-pounders they had taken. But the American cavalry were in turn repulsed, and the two six-pounders again fell into the hands of the British troops. The spirited exertions of General O'Hara and Colonel Tarleton contributed to bring the action to a termination. The British troops, having at length broken the second Maryland regiment, and turned the left flank of the Americans, got into the rear of the Virginia brigade, and appeared to be gaining their right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, when General Greene thought it prudent to retreat. Many of the American militia dispersed in the woods; but the continental troops fell back in good order to the Reedy Fork river, and crossed at the ford, about three miles from the field of action. When they had collected their stragglers, they retreated to the iron-works, ten miles distant from Guildford, where they encamped. They lost their artillery, and two wag-gons laden with ammunition. It was a hard-fought battle, and lasted an hour and an half. Of the British troops, the loss, as stated by Lord Cornwallis, was 532 killed, wounded, and missing. General Greene, in his account of the action transmitted to the congress, stated the loss of the continental troops to be 329 killed, wounded, and missing: but he made no estimate of the loss of the militia. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart was killed in the action; and Lieutenant-colonel Webster, and Captains Schutz, Maynard, and Goodriche, died of their wounds. General O'Hara,

General

General Howard, and Colonel Tarleton, were also wounded. Of the Americans, the principal officer killed was Major Anderson, of the Maryland line; and General Stephens and Huger were wounded.

The British troops underwent great hardships in the course of this campaign; and in a letter from Lord Cornwallis to Lord George Germaine, dated March 17th, he observed, that "the soldiers had been two days without bread." His lordship quitted Guildford three days after the battle; and, on the 7th of April, arrived at Wilmington. General Greene, notwithstanding his late defeat, endeavoured to make some fresh attempts against the king's forces in South Carolina. Lord Rawdon had been appointed to defend the post of *Camden*, with about eight hundred British; and, on the 19th of April, General Greene appeared before that place with a large body of continentals and militia. He found it impossible to storm the town with any prospect of success; and therefore endeavoured to take such a position as should induce the British troops to fall forth from their works. He posted the Americans about a mile from the town, on an eminence which was covered with woods, and flanked on the left by an impassable swamp. On the morning of the 25th, Lord Rawdon marched out of Camden, and with great gallantry attacked General Greene in his camp. The Americans made a vigorous resistance, but were at last compelled to give way, and the pursuit is said to have been continued three miles. The loss of the English was about one hundred killed and wounded. Upwards of one hundred of the Americans were taken prisoners; and, according to the account published by General Greene, they had one hundred and twenty-six killed and wounded.

Notwithstanding the advantage which Lord Rawdon had obtained, he soon found it necessary to quit his post; and the Americans made themselves masters of

several other posts that were occupied by the king's troops, and the garrisons were made prisoners of war. These were afterwards exchanged under a cartel which took place between Lord Cornwallis and General Greene, for the release of all prisoners in the southern district. After this, General Greene laid siege to Ninety-six, which was the most commanding and important of all the posts in the back-settlements; and, on the 19th of June, he attempted to storm the garrison, but was repulsed by the British troops, with the loss of seventy-five killed and one hundred and fifty wounded. General Greene then raised the siege, and retired behind the Saluda, to a strong situation within sixteen miles of Ninety-six.

On the 18th of April, a large body of British troops, under the command of General Philips and Arnold, embarked at Portsmouth, in Virginia, on an expedition for the purpose of destroying some of the American stores. A party of light-infantry were sent ten miles up the Chickahomany; where they destroyed several armed ships, sundry warehouses, and the American ship-yards. At Petersburg, they destroyed four thousand hogheads of tobacco, one ship, and a number of small vessels on the stocks and in the river. At Chesterfield, they burnt a range of barracks for two thousand men, and three hundred barrels of flour. At a place called Osborn's, they made themselves masters of several vessels loaded with cordage and flour, and destroyed two thousand hogheads of tobacco, and sundry vessels were sunk and burnt. At Warwick, they burnt five hundred barrels of flour, some mills belonging to Colonel Carey, a large range of public rope-walks and store-houses, tan and bark houses, full of hides and bark, and great quantities of tobacco. A like destruction of stores and goods was made in other parts of Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis, after his victory over General Greene, at Guildford, proceeded, as we have seen, to
Wilmington.

Wilmington; and, on the 20th of May, arrived at Petersburg, in Virginia, where he joined the British troops that had been under the command of Philips and Arnold. Before this junction, he had encountered considerable inconveniences from the difficulty of procuring provisions and forage; so that, in a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, he informed him, that his cavalry wanted every thing; and his infantry every thing but shoes. He added, that he had experienced the distresses of marching hundreds of miles in a country chiefly hostile, without one active or useful friend, without intelligence, and without communication with any part of the country.

On the 26th of June, about six miles from *Williamsburgh*, Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, and three hundred and fifty of the queen's rangers, with eighty mounted yagers, were attacked by a much superior body of the Americans; but whom they repulsed with great gallantry and with equal success, making four officers and twenty private men prisoners. The loss of the Americans in this action is said to have been upwards of one hundred and twenty, and that of the British troops not more than forty. On the 6th of July, another action happened near the *Green Springs*, in Virginia, between a reconnoitring party of the Americans, under General Wayne, amounting to about eight hundred, and a large part of the British army, under Lord Cornwallis; in which, the Americans had 127 killed and wounded; and the loss of the royal troops is supposed to have been considerably greater. It was an action in which no small degree of military skill and courage was exhibited by the Americans. In a variety of skirmishes, the Marquis la Fayette very much distinguished himself, and displayed the utmost ardour in the American cause.

Notwithstanding the signal advantages Lord Cornwallis had obtained, his situation in Virginia began to be very critical; and the rather, because he did not receive

receive those reinforcements from Sir Henry Clinton which he conceived to be necessary for the success of his operations. Indeed, the commander in chief was prevented from sending those reinforcements, by his fears respecting New York, against which he entertained apprehensions that General Washington intended to make a formidable attack. In fact, the American general appears to have taken much pains, and have employed great finesse, to lead Sir Henry Clinton into this imagination. Letters, expressive of this intention, fell into the hands of Sir Henry, which were manifestly written to be intercepted, with a view to amuse and deceive the British general. The project was successful; and, by a variety of manœuvres, in which he completely out-generalled the British commanders, he increased his apprehensions about New York, and prevented him from sending proper assistance to Lord Cornwallis.

Having thus kept Sir Henry Clinton in perpetual alarm, General Washington suddenly quitted his camp at White Plains, crossed the Delaware, and marched towards Virginia, with a design to attack Lord Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton now received information, that the Count de Grasse, with a large French fleet, was expected every moment in the Chesapeake, to co-operate with General Washington. He therefore endeavoured to communicate this information to Lord Cornwallis; and also sent him assurances, that he would either reinforce him by every possible means, or make the best diversion he could in his favour. In the mean time, Lord Cornwallis had taken possession of the posts of York-town and Gloucester, in Virginia, where he fortified himself in the best manner he could.

On the 28th of August, Sir Samuel Hood, with a squadron from the West Indies, joined the fleet under Admiral Graves, before New York. It was then necessary, on account of the situation of Lord Cornwallis,

wallis, that they should immediately proceed to the Chesapeak; but much time appears to have been lost, though Admiral Hood was extremely anxious that no delay might be made. They arrived in the Chesapeak on the 5th of September, with nineteen ships of the line, where they found the Count de Grasse, who had come to an anchor, on the 30th of August, with twenty-four ships of the line. The French admiral had previously landed a large body of troops, which had marched to join the American army under Washington.

The British and French fleets came to an action on the same day in which the former arrived in the Chesapeak. On-board the British fleet, ninety were killed and 246 wounded; some of the ships were greatly damaged in the engagement, and the *Terrible*, a seventy-four-gun ship, was so much shattered, that it was afterwards found necessary to set her on fire. That this action was not favourable to the English, was manifest from the event: the fleets continued in fight of each other for five days successively, and sometimes were very near; but at length the French all anchored within the Cape, so as to block up the passage. Admiral Graves then called a council of war, in which it was resolved, that the fleet should return to New York, that the ships might be put into the best state for the service: and thus were the French left masters of the Chesapeak.

Before the news of this engagement had reached New York, a council of war had been held, in which it was resolved, that five thousand men should be embarked on-board the king's ships, in order to proceed to the assistance of Lord Cornwallis. But, when it was known that the French were absolute masters of the navigation of the Chesapeak, it was thought inexpedient to send off that reinforcement. In another council of war, it was resolved, that, as Lord Cornwallis had provisions to last him to the end of October,

ber, it was adviseable to wait for more favourable accounts from Admiral Graves, or for the arrival of Admiral Digby, who was expected with three ships of the line.

In the mean time, the most effectual measures were taken by General Washington, for surrounding the army under Lord Cornwallis. A large body of French troops, under the command of Count Rochambeau, with a considerable train of artillery, assisted in the enterprize. The Americans amounted to near eight thousand continentals, and five thousand militia. General Washington was commander in chief of the combined forces of America and France. On the 29th of September, the investment of York-town was complete, and the British army were quite blocked up. The day following, Sir Henry Clinton wrote a letter to Lord Cornwallis, containing assurances that he would do every thing in his power to relieve him. A duplicate of this letter was sent to his lordship by Major Cochran, on the 3d of October. That gentleman, who was a very gallant officer, went in a vessel to the Capes, and made his way to Lord Cornwallis, undiscovered, through the whole French fleet, in an open boat. He got to York-town on the 10th of the month; and, soon after his arrival, had his head carried off by a cannon-ball.

After the return of Admiral Graves to New York, a council of war was held, in which it was resolved, that a large body of troops should be embarked on-board the king's ships as soon as they were refitted; and, that the exertions of both fleet and army should be made in order to form a junction with Lord Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton himself embarked on-board the fleet, with upwards of seven thousand troops, on the 18th; they arrived off Cape Charles, at the entrance of the Chesapeake, on the 24th, where they received the mortifying intelligence, that Lord Cornwallis had been obliged to capitulate five days before.

It

It was on the 19th of October, 1781, that Lord Cornwallis surrendered himself and his whole army prisoners of war, to the combined armies of America and France. He made a defence suitable to the character he had before acquired for courage and military skill; but was compelled to submit to untoward circumstances and superior numbers. It was agreed by the articles of capitulation, that the British troops were to be prisoners to the United States of America, and the seamen to the French king, to whose officers also the British vessels found at York-town and Gloucester were to be delivered up. The British prisoners amounted to more than 6,000; but many of them, at the time of surrender, were incapable of duty. A considerable number of cannon, and a large quantity of military stores, fell into the hands of the Americans on this occasion. The honour of marching out with colours flying, which had been refused to General Lincoln on his giving up Charlestown, was now refused to Lord Cornwallis; and General Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the army of York-town, precisely in the same way his own had been conducted eighteen months before.

As no rational expectation now remained of a subjugation of the colonies, the military operations that succeeded in America were of little consequence. On the 5th of May, 1782, Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New York, being appointed to the command of the British troops in America, in the room of Sir Henry Clinton. Two days after his arrival, he wrote to General Washington, acquainting him, that Admiral Digby was joined with himself in a commission to treat of peace with the people of America; transmitting to him, at the same time, some papers, tending to manifest the pacific disposition of the government and people of Britain towards those of America. He also desired a passport for Mr. Morgan, who was ap-

pointed to transmit a similar letter of compliment to the congress. General Washington declined signing any passport till he had taken the opinion of congress upon that measure; and by them he was directed to refuse any passport for such a purpose. However, another letter was sent to General Washington, dated the 2d of August, and signed by Sir Guy Carleton and Rear-admiral Digby, in which they informed him, that they were acquainted by authority, that negotiations for a general peace had already commenced at Paris; that Mr. Grenville was invested with full powers to treat with all the parties at war, and was then at Paris in the execution of his commission. They farther informed him, that his majesty, in order to remove all obstacles to that peace which he so ardently wished to restore, had commanded his ministers to acknowledge the independency of the thirteen provinces in the first instance, instead of making it the condition of a general treaty. But some jealousies were still entertained, that it was the design of the British court either to disunite them, or to bring them to treat of a peace separately from their ally the King of France: they therefore resolved, that any man, or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with the King of Great Britain, or with any commissioner or commissioners under the crown of Great Britain, ought to be considered and treated as open and avowed enemies of the United States of America; and also that those states could not with propriety hold any conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they should as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else, in positive or express terms, acknowledge the independence of the said states. They likewise resolved, that any propositions which might be made by the court of Great Britain, in any manner tending to violate the treaty subsisting between them and the King of France, ought

ought to be treated with every mark of indignity and contempt.

The most satisfactory assurances, however, on the part of the British chiefs, having been laid before congress, an immediate cessation of hostilities took place; and, on the 30th of November following, the provisional articles of peace and reconciliation between England and America were signed at Paris, by which Great Britain solemnly acknowledged the independence and sovereignty of the United States. These articles were ratified by a definitive treaty, September 3, 1783. This peace was negotiated on the part of Great Britain by Mr. Oswald, and the definitive treaty was signed by Mr. Hartley; and on the part of the United States by John Adams, and John Jay Esqres. and Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Holland acknowledged the independence of the United States of America on the 19th day of April, 1782; Sweden, the 5th of February; Denmark, the 25th of February; Spain in March, and Russia in July, 1783.

Thus ended that long and arduous conflict, in which Great Britain expended near an hundred millions of money, with an hundred thousand lives, and won nothing; and in which America patiently endured every distress; lost an infinite number of lives, and much treasure; but eventually delivered herself from a foreign dominion, and gained a name among the nations of the earth.

Upon taking leave of the American colonies as a part of the British empire, and viewing them now as a great and independent state, it may not be amiss to say a few words upon the extent of their territory, and the constitution they have adopted.

By the definitive treaty of peace between the King of Great Britain and the United States of America, the boundaries of these states are fixed to extend on the north from Nova Scotia, across the four great lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior, assigning to

the states the southern half of each, and in the latter the islands Royal and Phillippeaux; lake Michigan they possess entire: though these lakes have ever been considered as making a part of Canada, and no new regulation of limits has excluded them. This boundary is farther extended through the centre of the Lake of the Woods to its most western point. It may be supposed that a want of acquaintance with the geography of the country has caused it to be added "from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi;" for if the boundary is carried due west, it will reach the Pacific Ocean about one degree of latitude south of Nootka Sound. The line, in order to touch the Mississippi, should have been carried from the western side of the Lake of the Woods due south. In consequence of this inaccuracy, no boundary is settled throughout a space of near three degrees of latitude; it being resumed along the middle of the river Mississippi to thirty-one degrees north latitude, where that river begins to divide West Florida from Louisiana. The American States are bounded on the south by the two Floridas. They possess all the eastern coast from the mouth of the river St. Croix, in the bay of Fundy, to St. Mary's River, which divides Georgia from East Florida, and all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores.

The states with whom the King of Great Britain concluded this treaty were, New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island with Providence Plantation, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

These states, in their fullest extent, comprise eighteen degrees of latitude, and thirty-three degrees of longitude; they are described as being 1250 miles in length, and 1040 in breadth: reaching from thirty-one degrees to forty-nine degrees north latitude, and from fifty-one degrees to eighty-four degrees west longitude

longitude from Greenwich; but, as the Americans had fixed their meridian at the city of Philadelphia, the extent in longitude from that city is, from nine degrees east to twenty-four degrees west.

Although the longitudinal extent is laid down to be nearly double to the latitudinal, yet the limits are so intersected on the northward, that toward the north-west coast it lies in forty-five degrees, except a small district of land, which reaches to almost forty-seven degrees; but, in the interior country, on Lake Erie, the boundary is on forty-two degrees: its greatest extent is on the coast, toward the north-east, where only it is forty-nine degrees. Its longitudinal extent, from New England on the east, to a little below Nootka Sound on the west, comprehends the whole continental breadth, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean; and it is only in that part that its breadth is 1040 miles.

This republican government retains much of the spirit of the English constitution; and those two essential securities to individuals in their persons and their property, the habeas corpus act and trial by jury, are retained. It unites the American States in a much closer confederation than the Helvetic union brought the Swiss Cantons, or even than the compact entered into by the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands placed the Dutch. Indeed, in many important points, it is such a form of government as the world had not before seen. The most effectual measures seem to have been taken to remove what was formerly a fruitful source of animosity and dissension among the colonies, the undefined bounds of their respective territories, as every state has now renounced all right of deciding upon their claims, and has agreed that they shall be laid before congress, and decided upon by that assembly as a court of judicature. In this new form of government the several independent states may be said to have delegated to congress all the functions of government, except retaining

taining their interior constitution, but deprived of the power of levying duties on merchandize, of equipping ships of war, of making foreign alliances, or waging war; for, as the preamble to the constitution expresses it, in the federal government of these states, "it is impossible to secure all right of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all."

The president of the congress, the senate, and representatives, form a legislative body somewhat similar to the king, lords, and commons, of Great Britain, in that every act of congress must have a majority of votes in the two houses, and receive the assent of the president, before it can pass into a law; but the American constitution differs in many particulars; the president of the congress has not a power absolutely to negative any bill, he can only refuse his assent, and at the same time is required to assign the reasons on which he founds his refusal; the business is then to undergo a fresh discussion in both houses, and the bill must be passed by two-thirds of the members of each house, which then constitutes it a law without the concurrence of the president.

No specific portion of property, whether real or personal, is required to be possessed as a qualification either for a representative, a senator, the vice-president, or the president. Nor is any one excluded on account of the religious principles which he professes, whatever they may be; so that Jews or Roman Catholics are as eligible as any other citizens. The house of representatives is chosen every two years, by the people of the several states. The only legal requisites in a candidate are his having attained to twenty-five years of age; having been seven years a citizen of the United States; and, at the time of his election, an inhabitant of the state by which he is chosen; the holding of any place of honour, trust, or emolument, is an absolute disqualification. In this representation there

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is no distinction of knights, citizens, and burgesſes; it not being made out of counties, cities, and borough-towns; for the excluſive rights and peculiar privileges of corporations are entirely unknown here. The deſign of the conſtitution is, that the number of representatives in congreſs ſhall not exceed one representative for every 30,000, but that each ſtate ſhall have at leaſt one representative.

The American States in their houſe of commons are not represented by above one-third of the number by which the people of Great Britain are represented in their houſe, calculating upon the ſuppoſed population of each country. The ſenate of the United States, which may be conſidered as the upper houſe of parliament, is compoſed of two ſenators from each ſtate, choſen, not from the people at large, but from the legiſlature thereof. No one can be choſen a ſenator who has not attained to thirty years of age, who has not been nine years a citizen, and is not a reſident in the ſtate where he is choſen: he cannot hold any place of honour, truſt, or profit. Theſe ſenators, when aſſembled, are divided into three claſſes; thoſe in the firſt claſs vacate their ſeats at the expiration of the ſecond year: thoſe of the ſecond claſs at the end of the fourth year; and of the third claſs, at the expiration of the ſixth year.

The preſident of the United States, in whom is veſted the executive power, and who muſt not be under thirty-five years of age, is choſen by the nomination of each ſtate, who for this purpoſe names two, and the perſon upon whom the largeſt number of ſuffrages falls obtains this diſtinguiſhed rank, which is held for four years. In like manner the vice-preſident is to be elected, and for the ſame term. The latter is preſident of the ſenate. The preſident, vice-preſident, ſenate, and representatives, are paid for their ſervices at a rate ſettled by law, and out of the treaſury of the United States.

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The salaries paid to the great officers who conduct the affairs of government are,—The president of the congress, and commander in chief of the military and naval forces, 25,000 dollars, (5,300*l.* sterling.) Vice-president, and president of the senate, 5,000 dollars, (1,060*l.*) The speaker of the house of representatives, twelve dollars per diem during his attendance, (2*l.* 11*s.*) The members of the senate and house of representatives, six dollars, (1*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*) for every day's attendance, as well as for every twenty miles travelling to and from the seat of government. The secretary of the senate and clerk of the house of representatives, each 1,500 dollars, (320*l.*) The chief justice of the supreme court, 4,000 dollars, (850*l.*) The four associated justices, 3,500 dollars each per ann.

The president, by virtue of his office, is commander in chief of the army and navy, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the union. He has power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment. With the advice and consent of the senate, he has the power to make treaties, but the concurrence of two-thirds of the senators present is necessary to render such an act valid. He nominates, and, with the advice and consent of the senate, appoints ambassadors, consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, not otherwise appointed by the constitution. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them; and, in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper. He receives ambassadors, and other public ministers, and is empowered to take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

The congress has the power to impose and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare

welfare of the community; but all duties, imposts, and excises, are to be uniform throughout the United States. To borrow money on the public credit. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, also among the several states, and with the Indian tribes. To coin money, to regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin; and to fix the standard of weights and measures. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use can be for a longer term than to two years. To provide and maintain a navy. To provide for, call forth, arm, and discipline, the militia: each state to appoint the officers of their militia, and to possess the authority of training them, according to the discipline prescribed by congress. All bills for raising a revenue to originate in the house of representatives. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law, and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditure of all public money shall be published from time to time. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state. Each particular state is, by this confederation, forbidden to enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, coin money, emit bills of credit, make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts, or grant any title of nobility. No state shall, without the consent of the congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws;

whilst the nett produce of such duties shall be for the use of the general treasury, and subject to the revision and controul of congress.

WE have now to relate the remaining events which brought about a *general peace*. The British nation experienced another loss on the American continent in the early part of the campaign of 1781. Don Galvez, of whose successful expedition, in the year 1779, against the British settlements on the Mississippi, some notice has been already taken, made farther advances into West Florida the following year, and being at length reinforced by a powerful fleet and army from the Havannah, completed the conquest of the whole province by the reduction of Pensacola on the 8th of May. General Campbell, the governor, acquired no small reputation, even in misfortune, by his judicious and spirited defence of the place for two months, with a motley assemblage of British soldiers, royalists, Germans, sailors, and negroes, making in all nine hundred and fifty men, against a fleet of fifteen sail of the line, and a land force almost ten times the number of the garrison.

The grand fleet, on its departure from England for the relief of Gibraltar, was accompanied by a small squadron under the command of Commodore Johnstone, late one of the commissioners to America, but now appointed to conduct an expedition to the Cape of Good Hope. The court of Versailles, knowing the present inability of the States General to protect their foreign dominions, sent a superior squadron under M. Suffrein to counteract the designs of the English; and coming up with them at Port Praya, in the island of St. Jago, the French admiral made no scruple to violate the neutrality of the Portuguese flag, by attacking the squadron of Commodore Johnstone, while it lay in the harbour, dispersed and unsuspecting of danger. British valour was eminently displayed

displayed in repelling the attack, under every disadvantage of number, situation, and surprise; and the French were beaten off, after suffering severely in the conflict; but immediately proceeding to the Cape, they secured that settlement from any hostile attempt. Though the main object of Commodore Johnstone's expedition was thus defeated, he succeeded in the capture of five very valuable Dutch East Indiamen, with which he returned to Europe, a part of his squadron and a convoy of transports and merchant ships, which were destined for the East Indies, having prosecuted their voyage thither.

Suffrein's timely arrival at the Cape was certainly the means of preserving that place, in itself incapable of any vigorous resistance; but the French admiral did not reach the East Indies soon enough to afford the like protection to the Dutch settlements there, or to save Hyder Ally's marine from destruction. While Sir Eyre Coote was attacking Hyder with equal vigour and success by land, Sir Edward Hughes not only blocked up his ports on the Malabar coast, but destroyed his shipping at Calicut and Mangalore, two of his principal arsenals, on which all his hopes of becoming a maritime power were founded.

By these successes the presidency of Madras were now allowed so much respite, that an enterprise was planned against the Dutch settlement of Negapatam, situated to the south of Madras, and in the neighbourhood of Tanjour. A very inconsiderable force, however, could yet be spared for this purpose, as Hyder Ali, though so often defeated, was still extremely formidable. Sir Hector Munro had the management of the expedition: and so furious was the attack of the British sailors, that the troops left to guard the avenues to the place were defeated at the very first onset. A regular siege ensued; which, however, was of very short duration, a breach being soon made, and the garrison surrendering prisoners of war.

The loss of Negapatam was quickly followed by that of Trincomale. Admiral Hughes who had conveyed Sir Hector Munro with the land-forces to that place, and assisted him with his sailors, immediately after its surrender set sail for Trincomale, where he arrived about the middle of January 1782. The fort of that name was quickly reduced; but the main strength of the settlement consisted in a fort named Ostenburgh, the principal place on the island, and by the capture of which the whole settlement would be reduced. This fort stands on a hill which commands the harbour, but is itself overlooked by another hill at the distance of no more than two hundred yards. Though the gaining of this post was undoubtedly to be attended with the loss of the fort, it does not appear that the governor even attempted to defend it. A British detachment of sailors and marines therefore took possession of it, when the admiral sent a summons of surrender, representing the inutility of making any farther defence after the loss of such a post; and, being extremely desirous of avoiding an effusion of blood, repeated his arguments at several different times. The governor, however, proving obstinate, the place was taken by storm, with the loss of about sixty on the part of the British, and very little on that of the Dutch, the victors giving quarter the moment it was asked. Four hundred Europeans were taken prisoners; a large quantity of ammunition and military stores, with a numerous artillery, were found in the place; and two Indiamen richly laden, with a number of small trading vessels, were taken in the harbour.

A more formidable enemy, however, now made his appearance on the coast of Coromandel. This was Suffrein the French admiral; who, setting out from his native country with eleven ships of the line and several stout frigates, had fallen in with the Hannibal of 50 guns, and taken her when separated from her
conforts.

conforts. This ship, along with three others, a 74, a 64, and a 50, had been sent out to the assistance of Sir Edward Hughes, and the three last had the good fortune to join him before the arrival of Suffrein. The latter, supposing that he had not yet received this reinforcement, bore down upon the English squadron at Madras, to which place they had sailed immediately after the capture of Trincomale. Perceiving his mistake, however, he instantly bore away. The English admiral pursued, took six vessels, five of them English prizes, and the sixth a valuable transport laden with gunpowder and other military stores, besides having on-board a number of land officers and about 300 regular troops. This brought on an engagement, in which M. Suffrein, perceiving the rear division of the British fleet unable to keep up with the rest, directed his force principally against it. The ships of Admiral Hughes himself and Commodore King sustained the most violent efforts of the French, having mostly two, and sometimes three, vessels to contend with. Thus the commodore's ship was reduced almost to a wreck; but about six in the evening, the wind becoming more favourable to the English, the squadron of the enemy were obliged to draw off. The loss of men on the part of the British amounted to little more than 130 killed and wounded, but that of the French exceeded 250.

After the battle Sir Edward returned to Madras; but meeting with no intelligence of Suffrein at that place, he made the best of his way for Trincomale, being apprehensive of an attack upon that place, or of the intercepting of a convoy of stores and reinforcements at that time expected from England. Suffrein had indeed got intelligence of this convoy, and was at that time on his way to intercept it. This brought the hostile fleets again in sight of each other; and as the British admiral had been reinforced by two ships of the line, he was now better able to encounter his adversary.

adversary. A desperate battle ensued, which continued till towards night, when the ships on both sides were so much shattered, that neither could renew the engagement next day.

Though these engagements produced nothing decisive, they were nevertheless of the utmost prejudice to the affairs of Hyder Ali, who was thus prevented from receiving the succours he had been promised from France; and he was still farther mortified by the defeat of his forces before Tellicherry, which place he had blocked up since the commencement of hostilities. This last misfortune was the more sensibly felt, as an open passage was now left for the English into those countries best affected to Hyder. His bad success here, however, was in some measure compensated by the entire defeat of a detachment of about 2000 English infantry and 300 cavalry under Colonel Braithwaite, a brave and experienced officer. This detachment, consisting of chosen troops from Sir Eyre Coote's army, lay encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, which forms the northern boundary of Tanjour. Tippoo Saib, the intrepid son of Hyder, having procured exact intelligence of the situation of this party, formed a design of attacking it while no danger was suspected on account of the distance of Hyder Ali's army. He set out on this design with an army of 15,000 horse and 5000 foot, accompanied by a body of French regulars; and having crossed the Coleroon, suddenly surrounded the British forces on all sides. The colonel, perceiving his danger, formed his men into a square, distributing the artillery to the several fronts, and keeping his cavalry in the centre. In this situation he resisted for three days the utmost efforts of his numerous enemies, always compelling them to retreat with great loss. At last General Lally, rightly conjecturing that the strength of the English must be exhausted and their numbers thinned by such desperate service, proposed that the French infantry, which was
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TIPPOO SAIB.



fresh and entire, should attack one of the fronts of the square, while the forces of Tippoo should do the same with the other three. This last attack proved successful; the British forces were broken with great slaughter, which however was stopped by the humanity of the French commander; who even obtained from Tippoo Saib the care of the prisoners, and treated them with a tenderness and humanity they certainly would not otherwise have experienced. A number of British officers, however, perished in the engagement, and only one remained unwounded.

In the mean time, the succours from France, so long expected by Hyder, made their appearance. As soon as a junction was formed, they proceeded, under the command of M. Duchemin, to invest Cuddalore; which not being in any situation to stand a siege, was surrendered on capitulation. In like manner some other places of smaller consequence were reduced, until at last, being joined by Hyder's numerous forces, they determined to lay siege to Vandervash, a place of great importance, and the loss of which would have been extremely detrimental to the English. This quickly brought Sir Eyre Coote with his army to its relief; but Hyder Ali, notwithstanding his being reinforced by the French, durst not yet venture a battle in the open field. On this the British commander proceeded to attack Arnee, the principal deposit of Hyder's warlike stores and necessaries. Thus the latter was obliged to quit his advantageous ground; but he did so with such secrecy and speed, that he came upon the British army unawares while preparing for its last march to Arnee, now only five miles distant. Perceiving that the march of the British troops was through low grounds, encompassed on most parts with high hills, he planted his cannon upon the latter; from which he kept a continual and heavy fire on the troops below, while his numerous cavalry attacked them on every side. Notwithstanding all disadvantages,

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the British commander at last closed in with the enemy; and after an obstinate dispute completely routed them. Neither this, however, nor any other engagement with Hyder Ali, ever proved decisive; for as the want of cavalry prevented the British general from pursuing his advantage, so that of his antagonist was so numerous, that by it he always covered his retreats in such an effectual manner as to lose but few men, and in a short time to be in a condition to act again on the offensive. This was remarkably the case at present; for notwithstanding this defeat, which happened on the 2d of June 1782, he cut off an advanced body of the British army five days after; and harassed the whole in such a manner, that Sir Eyre Coote, notwithstanding his success, was forced to move nearer Madras; soon after which, he was obliged, on account of his bad state of health, to relinquish the command of the army to General Stuart.

Hyder Ali now perceiving that he was likely to be attended with no success by land, began to rest his hopes on the success of the French by sea. He therefore earnestly requested M. Suffrein, who possessed at that time a decisive superiority in the number of ships, to lose no time in attacking the British squadron before it could be joined by a reinforcement which was then on its way, and was reported to be very formidable. As the French commander was by no means deficient in courage, a third engagement took place on the 5th of July 1783. At this time the British had the advantage of the wind, the battle was much more close, and the victory more plainly on their side. It is said, indeed, that, had not the wind fortunately shifted in such a manner as to enable the French to disengage their ships, a total and ruinous defeat would have ensued. After the engagement, the French admiral proceeded to Cuddalore, having received intelligence that a large body of French troops in transports was arrived off the island of Ceylon, in company with
three

three ships of the line. As this seemed to afford hopes of retaliation, he used such diligence in refitting his ships, that the fleet was able to put to sea in the beginning of August. His intention was to make an attempt on Trincomale; and so well were his designs conducted, that Sir Edward received no intelligence of the danger, till a British frigate chasing a French one, which took shelter with the squadron at Trincomale, discovered it by this accident, and hastened back with the news to Madras. It was now, however, too late; the place was not in a condition to resist a siege; and the French batteries having silenced those of the fort in two days, a capitulation took place on the last day of August.

Sir Edward Hughes, having been detained by contrary winds, did not arrive at Trincomale before the 2d of September, when he had the mortification to see the forts in the hands of the French, and that Suffrein was in the harbour with fifteen sail of the line, while he had only twelve. He did not hesitate at venturing an engagement with this inferiority, nor did M. Suffrein decline the combat. The event of the battle was no other than shattering the fleets and killing and wounding a number of men on both sides. In this, however, as well as in the other engagements, the superiority of the English was very manifest; and in entering the harbour of Trincomale the French lost a 74-gun ship.

The loss of Trincomale was severely felt by the English; for while the French lay safely in the harbour refitting their squadron, the English were obliged for that purpose to sail to Madras. Here the fleet was assailed by one of the most dreadful tempests ever known on that coast. Trading vessels to the number of near 100 were wrecked, as well as those for Madras laden with rice, of which there was an extreme scarcity at that place. Thus the scarcity was augmented to a famine, which carried off vast numbers of the inhabi-

tants before supplies could arrive from Bengal. The continuance of the bad weather obliged Sir Edward with his whole squadron to sail to Bombay; and there he did not arrive till towards the end of the year, when his squadron was so much shattered, that, in order, to repair it with proper expedition, he was obliged to distribute it between the dock-yards of Bombay and the Portugese settlement at Goa.

In the mean time Sir Richard Bickerton arrived at Bombay from England with five men of war, having on board 5000 troops, after a very favourable passage; having neither seen nor heard of the bad weather which had desolated the coasts of India. It was likewise the intention of France to signalize the campaign of this year by an immense force both by sea and land in India. Exclusive of the forces already on the coast of Coromandel, they were to be joined by 5000 more, all regulars, from their islands on the African coast. Suffrein was to be reinforced by several ships of the line, when it was hoped that a decided superiority at sea would be obtained over the English; while their superior numbers and artillery on shore would render them invincible by any force that could be brought against them. To oppose these designs it was deemed necessary by the presidency of Bombay to make a powerful diversion on the coast of Malabar. Here was situated the kingdom of Mysore, the sovereignty of which had been usurped by Hyder Ali under the title of *Dayva*, as that of the Mahrattas was by a person styled *Paiswa*. This kingdom is nearly in the same parallel with Arcot. To the northward is the kingdom of Canara, which is said to have been the favourite possession of Hyder Ali; the name of its capital is Bidnore, which also gives name to an extensive territory, and was by Hyder changed to that of Hydernagur. The expedition had been set on foot as early as the end of the year 1781; a strong body of forces under the command of Colonel Humberstone had

had taken the two cities of Calicut and Panyan, besides others of lesser note, and penetrated into the inland country, which is there difficult and dangerous. Having here made himself master of a place called *Mon-garry Cotta*, of which the situation commanded the entrance into the inner parts of the country, he proceeded to attack Palatacherry, a considerable town at some miles distance; but being suddenly environed with a numerous and hostile army, instead of making himself master of the place, it was not without the utmost difficulty that he made his escape after losing all his provisions and baggage. A great army, consisting of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse, under Tippoo Saib, also advanced against him with such celerity, that the colonel had only time to retreat to Panyan, where he was superseded in the command by Colonel Macleod, and soon after the place was invested by the forces of the enemy, among whom was General Lally with a considerable body of French. Two British frigates, however, having come to the assistance of the place, rendered all the attempts of the enemy to reduce it abortive. At last, Tippoo Saib, impatient of delay, made a vigorous effort against the British lines; but though both the Indian and French commanders behaved with great bravery, the attack not only proved unsuccessful, but they were repulsed with such loss as determined Tippoo to abandon the siege of the place, and retire beyond the river of Panyan.

As soon as the presidency of Bombay were acquainted with the success of Colonel Humberstone, General Matthews was dispatched to his assistance with a powerful reinforcement. This expedition, which began the campaign of 1783 in the kingdom of Canara, has been related with circumstances so disgraceful, and so exceedingly contrary to the behaviour for which the British troops are remarkable, that we are totally at a loss to account for them. On the one hand, it seems surprising how the national character could be forfeited

by a particular body, and not by any other part of the army; and on the other, it seems equally surprising why such calumnies (if we suppose them to be so) should have arisen against this particular body and no other part of the army. Such accounts of it, however, were published as raised the indignation of the military gentlemen, who thought proper to publish a vindication of themselves. In the Annual Registers, from whence, next to the Gazettes and News papers, the generality receive what they look upon to be authentic intelligence, the character of this army is treated with the highest asperity. "In the story of the conquest and recovery of Canara (says the New Annual Register), the Spaniards may be said to be brought a second time upon the scene, but not to fit down in fullen and insolent prosperity after all their crimes. The Spaniards of Britain were overtaken in the midst of their career; and he who is more of a man than an Englishman, will rejoice in the irregular and unmeasured, but at the same time the just and merited, vengeance that was inflicted upon them by the prince whose dominions they were ravaging!" In support of this dreadful exclamation the following account is given of the expedition. It began with the putting in execution a design formed by General Matthews of carrying the war into the heart of Hyder Ali's dominions. For this purpose the English invested the city of Onore, situated about 300 miles to the south of Bombay, and one of the principal places in the country of Canara. "It was taken by assault (says Dr. Andrews) with great slaughter, and plundered with circumstances of avarice and rapine that disgraced the victors; among whom at the same time, great discontents arose concerning the division of the spoil." "No quarter (says the Annual Register) was given by the victorious English; every man they met was put to the sword. Upon this occasion we beg leave to transcribe three lines from the private letter of one of the officers

officers concerned in the expedition. ‘The carnage (says he) was great: we trampled thick on the bodies that were strewed in the way. It was rather shocking to humanity; but such are only secondary considerations, and to a soldier, whose bosom glows with heroic glory, they are thought only accidents of course; his zeal makes him aspire after farther victory.’ This part of the peninsula had hitherto been untouched by the barbarous and unsparing hands of Europeans, and of consequence was full of riches and splendour. In the fortrefs of Onore were found sums of money to an unknown amount, besides jewels and diamonds. A considerable part of this appears to have been secured as private plunder by General Matthews. The complaints of the military were loud; they thought, and naturally, that the acquisition of riches was the fair and reasonable consequence of the perpetration of bloodshed. But their commander turned a deaf ear to their representations; and hastened, by adding new laurels to his fame, to hide the slander that might otherwise rest upon him.”

From Onore the army proceeded to the nearest fortresses on the sea-coast, More and Cundapour. Here they were joined by a reinforcement from Bombay under the command of Colonels Macleod and Humberstone, with positive orders to proceed for Bidnore or Hydernagur the capital of Canara. On this General Matthews marched for the mountains called the *Ghauts*, where there is a pass three miles in length, though only eight feet wide, and which was then strongly fortified and defended by a vast number of the natives. “The English (say our authors), however, had already obtained a considerable reputation by their executions; and the use of the bayonet, the most fatal instrument of war, and which was employed by them on all occasions, created such and extreme terror in the enemy, as to enable them to surmount this otherwise impregnable defile.”

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The gaining of this pass laid open the way to Bidnore the capital, to which a summons was now sent. An answer was returned, that the place was ready to submit, provided the inhabitants were not molested, and the governor was permitted to secure his property. The wealth of this city was undoubtedly great, but the estimates of its amount are very different. By the accounts of Bombay it was stated only at 175,000*l.* while the officers concerned in the expedition say that it was not less than 1,200,000*l.* or even 1,920,000*l.*; and even this was only public property; that seized upon by the foldiers, and which belonged to private persons, was undoubtedly very considerable also.

This treasure was at first shown by the general to his officers, and declared to belong to the army; but he afterwards told them that it was all the property of the Mahomedan governor, and had been secured to him by the terms of the surrender. It was therefore sent to Cundapour under the convoy of Lieutenant Matthews, brother to the general, to be thence transmitted to Bombay; but whether any part of it ever reached that settlement or not was never known. The discontents of the army were now carried to the utmost height; and the contest became so serious, that Colonels Macleod, Humberstone, and Shaw, quitted the service altogether, and returned to Bombay. The officers charged their general with the most insatiable and shameful avarice; while he, in return, accused his whole army of doing every thing disrespectful and injurious to him; of paying no regard to order and discipline, and of becoming loose and unfeeling as the most licentious freebooters.

From Bidnore detachments were sent to reduce several fortresses, the principal of which was Ananpour or Anantpore. Here orders were issued for a storm and no quarter. Every man in the place was put to death, except one horseman who made his escape after being wounded in three places. “The women, unwilling

willing to be separated from their relations, or exposed to the brutal licentiousness of the soldiery, threw themselves in multitudes into the moats with which the fort was surrounded. Four hundred beautiful women, pierced with the bayonet, and expiring in one another's arms, were in this situation treated by the British, with every kind of outrage."

This exploit was succeeded by the reduction of Carwa and Mangalore, which completed the reduction of Canara, when General Matthews put his army in cantonments for the rainy season.

This rapid success was owing to the death of Hyder Ali, which happened in the end of the year 1782. His son Tippoo Saib, however, having taken possession of the government, and settled his affairs as well as time would allow, instantly resumed his military operations. On the 7th of April 1783 he made his appearance before Bidnore, so that General Matthews had scarce time to collect a force of 2000 men, and to write to Bombay for a reinforcement. But, however necessary the latter must have been in his circumstances, the presidency were so much prejudiced against him by the unfavourable reports of his officers, that they suspended him from his commission, appointing Colonel Macleod to succeed to the command of the army.

Tippoo Saib now advanced with a vast army, supposed not to be fewer than 150,000 men, covering the hills on each side of the metropolis as far as the eye could reach. The army of General Matthews, altogether unable to cope with such a force, were quickly driven from the town, and forced to take refuge in the citadel. Tippoo, having cut off their retreat by gaining possession of the Ghauts, laid close siege to the fortress; which in less than a fortnight was obliged to capitulate. The terms proposed were, that all public property should remain in the fort; that the English should engage not to act against Tippoo for a stipulated

pulated time; that they should march out with the honours of war; that they should pile their arms, and have full liberty to proceed unmolested with their private property to the sea coast, from thence to embark for Bombay; and in this capitulation the garrisons of Annanpour and other inland fortresses were also included.

All these terms were broken by Tippoo, who said that they had forfeited their title to liberty by a breach of the articles of capitulation, in embezzling and secreting the public money, which was all, in good faith, to be delivered up. That this was really the case seems to be universally acknowledged. In the Annual Register we are told, that "to prevent too much money being found in the possession of one man, the general ordered his officers to draw on the paymaster-general for whatever sums they wanted. When the fort was surrendered to the sultan, there was not a single rupee found in it." By this circumstance the fate of the garrison was decided. General Matthews was sent for next morning to a conference. He was not, however, admitted to his presence, but immediately thrown into chains. Most of the other principal officers were, on various pretences, separated from the army. The general and his companions were conducted to Seringapatam the capital of Mysore; and after having experienced a variety of severities, were at last put to death by poison. In this manner the general and 20 officers perished. The poison administered was the milk of the cocoa-tree, which is said to be very deadly.

The above account was repeatedly complained of as partial, and at last openly contradicted in a pamphlet intitled, "A Vindication of the Conduct of the English Forces" employed in that expedition, and published by order of the East India Company. In this pamphlet the circumstance most found fault with was that regarding the women at Anantpore, which was positively contradicted. On this account therefore the publishers

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publishers of the above-mentioned work retract that part of their narrative, as being founded in misrepresentation. Notwithstanding this vindication, however, they still draw the following conclusions: "It is already sufficiently evident, how little has been effected by this vindication of the Bombay officers. The great outlines of the expedition remain unaltered. It is still true that a remarkable degree of severity was employed in the field; that, in the capture of the fortresses of Canara, the principle of a storm and no quarter was very frequently applied; and that the acquisition of money was too much the governing object in every stage of the undertaking. The vindication of the officers has therefore done them little service; and it happens here, as it generally does in the case of an imperfect reply, that the majority of the facts are rather strengthened and demonstrated by the attempt to refute them. With respect to the conclusion of the story, the treasures of Hydernagur, and the charge brought against them by Tippoo, that they had broken the terms of the capitulation, and that when the fort was surrendered not a rupee was to be found in it; these circumstances are passed over by the officers in the profoundest silence. It was this that roused the sultan to vengeance; and it is to this that he appeals for his justification in disregarding a capitulation which had been first dissolved by the vanquished English."

The vindication above alluded to was signed by one major and 52 subaltern officers. It seems not, however, to have given entire satisfaction to the military gentlemen themselves, as other vindications have appeared said to be written by officers; but these being anonymous, can be supposed to add very little weight to that already mentioned, where such a respectable body have signed their names. We shall therefore drop a subject so disagreeable, and the investigation of which at the same time is entirely foreign to the plan of this work.

It now remains to give some account of the war with the Mahrattas, begun, as was formerly hinted, on account of the protection afforded to the assassin Roganaut-row. This man had formerly obliged the Mogul to take shelter in the English factory at Bengal; but being unable to keep up his credit among his countrymen, was expelled. On his arrival at Bombay, an alliance was formed betwixt him and the English government; by which the latter engaged to replace him in the Mahratta regency in consideration of some valuable cessions of territory. The supreme council of Bengal, however, disowned this treaty, and concluded one with the Mahrattas in the month of March 1776; by which it was agreed that they should provide for Ragobah's subsistence according to his rank, on condition of his residing in their country. This being not at all agreeable to Ragobah, he fled once more to Bombay, where a new confederacy was entered into for his restoration. The council of Bengal approved of this on account of the approaching rupture with France; and in consequence of this, a detachment was, in February 1778, ordered to march across the continent of India. By some mismanagements in this expedition, the whole army was obliged to capitulate with the Mahratta general on the 9th of January 1779. One of the terms of the capitulation was, that a body of troops which were advancing on the other side should be obliged to return to Bengal. But General Goddard, the commander of these forces, denying the right of the council of Bengal to remand him, proceeded on his march, and arrived on the 18th of February. Here he received orders to conclude a new treaty, if it could be obtained on easier terms than that of the capitulation by which it had been engaged to cede all our acquisitions in the country of the Mahrattas.

Such extreme disregard to any stipulations that could be made, undoubtedly provoked the Mahrattas,

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tas, and induced them to join in the confederacy with Hyder Ali already mentioned. The war, however, was successfully begun by General Goddard in January 1780. In three months he reduced the whole province of Guzerat. Madajee Sindia the Mahratta general advanced to oppose him; but as he did not choose to venture a battle, the English general stormed his camp, and totally routed him. Other exploits were performed in the course of this campaign; during which the governor-general (Mr Hastings), seeing no hopes of an accomodation, entered into a treaty with the rajah of Gohud, and with his consent Major Popham reduced a fortress in his dominions named *Gaullior*, garrisoned by the Mahrattas, and hitherto reckoned impregnable.

These successes were followed by the dreadful incursions of Hyder Ali already related, which put a stop to the conquests of General Goddard; all the forces he could spare being required to assist the army under Sir Eyre Coote. The last exploit of General Goddard was the reduction of the island of Salfette, and of a strong fortress named *Bassein* in its neighbourhood. The army of Sindia, consisting of 30,000 men, was also defeated this year by Colonel Carnac; and the Mahrattas, disheartened by their losses, consented to a separate peace with the English, leaving Hyder Ali to manage the war as he thought proper.

In the mean, time, however, the expences incurred by these wars were so high, that Mr. Hastings, who was obliged to furnish them some how or other, was reduced to the greatest difficulties. For this purpose not only all the treasure of Bengal was exhausted, but it was found necessary to draw extraordinary contributions from the British allies, which was productive of many disagreeable circumstances. One of the most remarkable was the revolt of Benares. The rajah of this country had formerly put himself under the protection of the English, who on their part agreed to secure his dominions to him on condition of his paying

an annual subsidy to the nabob of Oude. In 1770 the rajah died, and was succeeded by his son Cheit Sing, who held the sovereignty at the time we speak of. On the death of the nabob in 1775, a new treaty was made with his successor, by which the sovereignty of Benares was transferred to the East-India company, an acquisition equivalent to 240,000l. per annum; at the same time that the subsidy paid by Suja Dowla, and which, by Lord Clive, had been fixed at 36,000l. and afterwards raised to 252,000l. was now augmented to 312,000l. per annum.

On receiving intelligence in July 1778, that war had actually commenced between France and England, Cheit Sing was required to pay 50,000l. as his share of the public burdens. Such a demand was paid with extreme reluctance on the part of a prince who already contributed 240,000l. and probably thought that an abundant equivalent for the protection enjoyed. The same requisition, however, was made the two succeeding years, but with a promise that the demand should cease when peace was restored. Instead of any present alleviation, however, a body of troops was also quartered upon him, and he was likewise obliged to pay for their maintenance, lest he should not voluntarily pay the additional 50,000l. In November 1780, in addition to all these demands, he was also required to send into the field such a body of horse as he could spare; but this requisition, owing to some misunderstanding, was never complied with.

In July 1781 Mr Hastings having, it is said, received some intelligence that the oppressed rajah meditated rebellion, set out on a visit to the nabob of Oude, and in his way proposed to *clear up the misunderstanding* with him. The method by which he intended to *clear up this misunderstanding* was to lay a fine upon the poor prince of 400,000l. or 500,000l.; and as a reason for doing so, it was alleged that the late rajah had left a million sterling in his treasury; a
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sum which was continually increasing. Cheit Sing, advanced to the borders of his territories to meet the governor-general, behaved with all imaginable submission; and having got private intelligence of what was meditated against him, offered to pay down 200,000*l.* This was refused; and the governor-general having reached the capital, forbade the rajah his presence, and by a letter acquainted him with his causes of complaint. Cheit Sing sent a very submissive answer; but as he endeavoured to exculpate himself, Mr Hastings was so far from being satisfied, that he put the prince under an arrest.

Such an unheard of proceeding excited the utmost surprise and resentment in subjects accustomed to regard their sovereign with a degree of reverence little short of adoration. On the very day of the arrest they assembled tumultuously, cut in pieces the guard which had been set on the palace, and carried off their prince in triumph. It does not appear, however, that this was any other than a transitory tumult; for though they could easily have cut off the governor-general, they made no attempt against him. Cheit Sing protested his innocence, and made the most unlimited offers of submission, but all in vain. His government was declared vacant, and the zemindary bestowed on the next heir; the annual subsidy to the government of Bengal was augmented from 240,000*l.* to 400,000*l.* annually. The miserable rajah was forced to fly his country; and his mother, though promised leave to retire upon conditions, attacked in her retreat and plundered by the soldiers. After all his endeavours to procure money, however, Mr. Hastings found this adventure turn out much less profitable than he had expected; for the treasury of the fugitive prince was seized and retained by the soldiery.

As to the Nabob of Oude, a new treaty was concluded with him; the design of which was evidently to ease him of some of the burdens to which he was at
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that time subjected. Part of the British troops were therefore withdrawn from his dominions. As Fizulla Khan, the most prosperous of his dependents had been called upon to furnish a body of 5000 horse to join the nabob's army, and had not complied with the requisition, the guarantee of his treaty with the nabob, formerly executed, was withdrawn; but it being afterwards discovered that his territory was not equivalent to the claims of the governor, the treaty was renewed on payment of a slight fine. As the widow of Sujah Dowla was suspected of favouring the late rajah Cheit Sing, the reigning prince was allowed to reclaim the treasures of his father in her possession, and likewise to deprive her of a small province she had in possession, on condition of paying her a certain stipulated allowance annually. The treasures were seized as payment of the debts of the prince to the company.

Hostilities continued in India between the French and English till the year 1783 was far advanced, and long after tranquillity had been restored to other parts of the world. In the beginning of the season for action the governor and council of Bengal determined to send an ample supply to the presidency of Madras, that so they might be enabled to put an end to the war, which Tippoo seemed willing to prosecute with even more vigour than his father had done. For this purpose Sir Eyre Coote, who, for his health, had gone to Bengal by sea, set sail once more for Madras, being intrusted with a large sum of money for the necessary expences of the war. In his passage he has chaced for 48 hours by two French men of war. The solicitude and fatigue he underwent during this time, being almost constantly upon deck, occasioned a relapse, so that he died in two days after his arrival at Madras. His death was greatly lamented, as the greatest expectations had been formed of an happy conclusion being put to the war by his extraordinary military talents,

lents, for which he had already acquired so great reputation in India.

The invasion of Tippoo's dominions having called him off from the Carnatic, General Stuart took the opportunity of attacking him in another quarter. Colonel Fullarton was dispatched with a large body of troops to invade the province of Coimbatour. This he executed with great success; over running the country, taking several fortresses, and making a very alarming diversion on this side of Tippoo's dominions. General Stuart, however, having still greater designs in view, was obliged to recal this gentleman in the midst of his success. The siege of the strong fortress of Cuddalore was the operation which now engaged his attention. It was now become the principal place of arms belonging to the French; was strongly fortified, and garrisoned by a numerous body of the best troops in France, as well as a considerable number of Tippoo's choicest forces. The siege therefore proved so difficult, that though the English displayed the utmost valour and military skill, they were not able to reduce the place until hostilities were interrupted by the news of a general pacification having taken place in Europe. In this siege a remarkable circumstance took place, viz. that of a corps of sepoy grenadiers encountering and overcoming the French troops opposed to them with fixed bayonets. For this remarkable instance of valour, they not only received the highest applause at the time, but provision was made for themselves and families by the presidencies to which they belonged.

After the reduction of Hydernagur, and the destruction of the army under General Matthews, the English possessed only three places of consequence in the kingdom of Canara. These were Mangalore, Onore, and Carwa. The siege of all these places was undertaken at once. Mangalore, the principal port in the country, was defended by a very numerous garrison under Major Campbell. Tippoo sat down before

fore it on the 19th of May; and the attack and defence were both conducted with the greatest spirit and activity. Notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the besiegers, however, and that the garrison were reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions, they held out in spite of every difficulty, until the general pacification being concluded, the place was afterwards delivered up. In other parts nothing more happened than an indecisive engagement between M. Suffrein and Admiral Hughes; so that the British empire in Bengal was for that time fully established.

If the Dutch were mortified by the severity of their losses in both the Indies, they had almost as little cause to rejoice at the fruits of their treachery and ingratitude near home. Several of their merchantmen and single ships were taken at the beginning of the rupture; but it still appeared that they retained their ancient valour, and were in fact the most formidable naval enemies Britain had to contend with. By the month of August, 1781, they had equipped a considerable squadron, the command of which was given to Rear-admiral Zoutman. On the 5th of that month, this squadron fell in with the British fleet commanded by Admiral Hyde Parker off the Dogger-bank. The force commanded by the Dutch admiral consisted, according to their own account, of one of 74, one of 68, one of 64, three of 54, and one of 44, besides frigates; but the English account represents the Dutch fleet as consisting of eight two-decked ships. No gun was fired on either side till they were within the distance of half musket-shot. The action began about eight in the morning, and continued with an unceasing fire for three hours and forty minutes. Both sides fought with equal ardour, and little advantage was gained on either. When the heat of the action was over, both squadrons lay to a considerable time near each other, when the Dutch ships of war with their convoy bore away for the Texel; and the English



J. Chapman sc.

ADMIRAL SIR HYDE PARKER.

Published as the Act directs May 1796.



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English ships were all too much disabled to follow them. A Dutch 74-gun ship sunk soon after the action. On-board the British fleet 104 were killed and 339 wounded; and the loss of the Dutch was probably greater. Admiral Zoutman, in the account of the engagement transmitted by him to the stadtholder, said, that his men "fought like lions;" and it was said by the British admiral, in the account sent by him to the admiralty, that "his majesty's officers and men behaved with great bravery, nor did the enemy show less gallantry." The admiral of the Dutch fleet was promoted, honorary rewards were given to the principal officers, and two months pay to the men, for their behaviour in this action. When Admiral Parker's fleet arrived at the Nore, his majesty, in order to testify his sense of his merit, went on-board his ship, with the avowed design, as it is said, of conferring on him the honour of knighthood; but this the admiral thought proper to decline; and it was generally supposed, that this veteran officer was much disgusted that more ships had not been sent to him, for which he had applied, and which he conceived might have been spared, and whereby he might have been enabled to obtain a complete victory.

An attempt made by Admiral Kempenfelt, with thirteen sail of the line and four frigates, to intercept a French squadron and convoy carrying reinforcements to the East and West Indies, concluded the naval enterprises of this year. The English admiral fell in with the enemy on the 12th of December in a hard gale of wind, and succeeded in cutting off a part of the convoy; but was obliged to relinquish any farther design, on perceiving the enemy's force to consist of nineteen sail of heavy line of battle ships, besides two more armed *en flûte*. About twenty of the prizes arrived safe in England; and their importance, being all crowded with troops or heavy laden with stores and provisions, served to excite the dissatisfaction of the

public at the negligence of those who had not supplied Kempenfelt with such a force, as would have enabled him to take or destroy the whole French fleet and convoy.

Though Lord North and his colleagues still preserved a tone of firmness, and carried several questions of some moment relating to the estimates, the supplies, and the necessity of a new loan of thirteen millions and a half, with large majorities in the house of commons, yet it was easy to see that his power was tottering, and could not be of long continuance. In every debate introduced by the opposition for the avowed purpose of condemning the conduct of the war, the number of those who voted for the exculpation of the ministry, decreased every day. A motion of censure on the first lord of the admiralty brought forward by Mr. Fox soon after the Christmas recess, was rejected by a majority of only 22; and even that majority did not continue, but was reduced to 19 on the renewal of the same motion in substance, though a little varied in form, on the 20th of February. At length on the 28th of March, 1782, the new arrangement was announced to the house, and to the public at large. The cabinet, formed under the auspices of the Marquis of Rockingham, and including himself as first commissioner of the treasury, was composed of the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox, who were appointed secretaries of state; Lord Camden president of the council; Duke of Grafton, privy seal; Lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; Admiral Keppel, who was also created a viscount, first commissioner of the admiralty; General Conway, commander in chief of the forces; Duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance; Lord Thurlow, who was continued in his office of lord high chancellor; and Mr. Dunning, created Baron Ashburton, and made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. The Duke of Portland succeeded Lord

Carlisle

Carlisle as lord-lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. Burke was constituted paymaster of the forces; and Colonel Barré, treasurer of the navy.

The first business of national importance, brought forward by the new ministry, was the repeal of an act passed in the reign of George I. for securing the dependency of Ireland, against which the loudest and justest clamours had been raised in that country. This repeal, which passed both houses without opposition, was properly understood as a virtual renunciation of the claim of legislating for Ireland. The power of suppressing or altering bills in the privy council, and the perpetual mutiny bill, were the other grievances, of which the Irish had made some very urgent complaints. As these points lay between the parliament of Ireland and the king, they were assured, by the lord-lieutenant, of his majesty's gracious intentions to give his assent to acts for abolishing the obnoxious power-abovementioned, and for limiting the duration of the mutiny act to the term of two years. The Irish parliament and the whole nation were so highly gratified with the liberality of these concessions, that a vote of the house of commons in that kingdom passed unanimously for raising twenty thousand seamen for the service of the British navy.

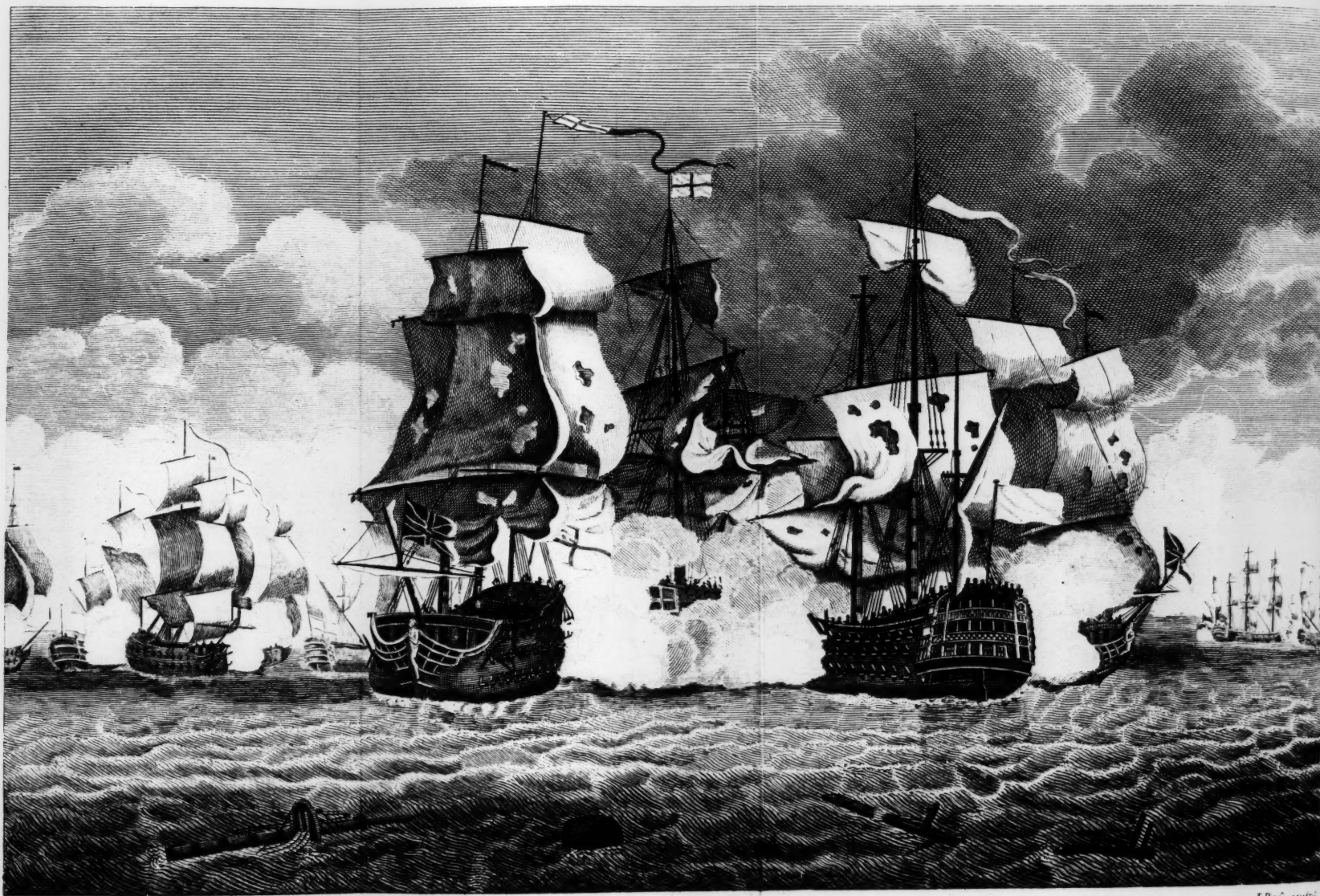
While these steps were judiciously taken to soothe the discontents and remove the jealousies of the people of Ireland, the new administration were not inattentive to the means of acquiring popularity at home. Bills for disabling revenue-officers from voting at elections, and excluding contractors from the house of commons, which had been repeatedly negatived in the course of a few years, were now revived and passed with approbation and applause. Mr. Burke's reform bill was also brought forward a third time, in consequence of a message from the king, recommending the consideration of an effectual plan of œconomy throughout all the branches of the public expenditure. By this bill, which now passed, though not without

some warm opposition in the house of lords, the board of trade, the board of works, and the great wardrobe, were abolished, together with the office of American secretary of state, and many sinecure appointments.

So far the new ministry, though composed of some dissonant and jarring principles, had conducted public affairs with the appearance of perfect harmony; but the death of the Marquis of Rockingham on the 1st of July threw their whole system into the utmost disorder. On the day succeeding his decease, the Earl of Shelburne was declared first lord of the treasury. The acceptance of this high office, without any previous communication with his colleagues, was considered by the Rockingham party as equivalent to a declaration of political hostility on the part of Lord Shelburne. Mr. Fox immediately resigned the seals as secretary of the northern department; Lord John Cavendish his office as chancellor of the exchequer; the Duke of Portland his government of Ireland; a few others their seats at the boards of treasury and admiralty; and Mr. Burke his post of paymaster of the army. In consequence of their resignations, the seals of the southern department were given to the Earl of Grantham, and of the northern to Mr. Thomas Townshend, late secretary at war: Sir George Yonge succeeded Mr. Townshend: Colonel Barré was made paymaster of the forces; and Mr. Dundas was appointed in his room treasurer of the navy: Lord Temple succeeded the Duke of Portland in the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland; and Mr. William Pitt, second son of the late Earl of Chatham, was constituted chancellor of the exchequer.

Intelligence arrived early in the spring, that General Murray, governor of Minorca, had been compelled, after a siege of one hundred and seventy-one days, to surrender that island to the arms of his Catholic majesty, on the 8th of February. The news from
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Godfrey delin^t

J. Pyle sculp^t

*An exact Representation of the glorious Defeat of the French Fleet under the Command of Admiral Count de Grasse, by Admiral Lord Rodney
on the 12th of April 1782 -
Published as the Act directs Jan^y 1790.*

the West Indies were still more pregnant with disasters. The superiority of the French in that quarter enabled them to attempt, and to execute almost whatever they liked.—They recovered the Dutch settlements of Demerary and Essequibo in the first month of the year. The old and valuable island of St. Christopher was doomed to be the next victim to the calamity of the times. A gallant attempt made by Admiral Hood for its relief, and the admirable bravery of the governor and garrison proved ineffectual. The islands of Nevis and Montserrat followed the fortune of St. Christopher's, so that of all the former possessions of Great Britain in the West Indies, none remained but Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua. The design against Jamaica, which had been often adopted, and as often laid aside or deferred, was now revived with more vigour and greater confidence of success than ever. The Spaniards had a powerful fleet and a great body of land-forces at Hispaniola and Cuba, who were furnished with abundant provision for war, and in readiness to join the Count de Grasse in the attack upon that island. The junction of the two fleets would have amounted to sixty ships of the line, and their military force was no less formidable.

Sir George Rodney's arrival at Barbadoes with twelve sail of the line on the 19th of February, and his subsequent junction with Sir Samuel Hood's squadron, were fortunately decreed to break in upon the thread of this design against Jamaica. It was now the Count de Grasse's intention to avoid fighting, by all possible means, until he could join the Spanish fleet at Hispaniola. With this view, the French left the harbour of Fort Royal at day-break on the 8th of April; and Rodney, who had the earliest intelligence of their movements, made the signal for a general chase. Early the next morning he came up with the enemy under Dominique, where the van of the English engaged the rear of the French; but the continued

calms

calms prevented a general or close action. In the morning of the 11th a fresh gale sprung up, and the chase was renewed; and towards evening the headmost ships of the van gained so much on one or two of the enemy's ships, damaged in the late action, that the Count de Grasse thought it necessary to bear down for the purpose of protecting them. Sir George Rodney, who had eagerly watched and waited for this opportunity, now manœuvred the fleet with such skill, as to gain the windward of the enemy during the night, and entirely to preclude their retreat. In this memorable action, which began next morning the 12th of April, the British fleet consisted of 36 ships of the line, and the French of 34, but higher rates with superior weight of metal. The engagement commenced at seven o'clock in the morning, and continued with unremitting fury till half past six in the evening. It is said, that no other signal was made by the admiral but the general one for action, and that for close fight. Sir George Rodney was on-board the *Formidable*, a ship of 90 guns; and the Count de Grasse was on-board the *Ville de Paris*, a ship of 110 guns, which was a present to the French king from the city of Paris. In the course of the action, the *Formidable* fired nearly eighty broadsides; and for three hours the admiral's ship was involved in so thick a cloud of smoke, that it was almost invisible to the officers and men of the rest of the fleet. The van division of the British fleet was commanded by Sir Samuel Hood, and the rear division by Rear-admiral Drake; and both these officers greatly distinguished themselves in this important action. But the decisive turn on this memorable day was given by a bold manœuvre of the *Formidable*, which broke the French line, and threw them into confusion. The first French ship that struck was the *Cesar*, a 74-gun ship, the captain of which fought nobly, and fell in the action. It is said, that when she struck she had not a foot of canvas without a shot-hole. Unfortunately,

unately, soon after she was taken possession of, she took fire by accident, and blew up, when about two-hundred Frenchmen perished in her, together with an English lieutenant and ten English seamen. But *le Glorieux* and *le Hector*, both 74 gun ships, were also taken by the British fleet; together with *l'Ardent* of 64 guns; and a French 74-gun ship was also sunk in the engagement. It was a very close and hard-fought action on both sides, but the French fleet was at length totally defeated. It was almost dark when the *Ville de Paris* struck, on-board which the Count de Grasse had fought very gallantly. Five thousand five hundred troops were on-board the French fleet, and the havoc among these was very great, as well as among the French seamen. The British had 230 killed and 759 wounded. Captain Blair, who commanded the *Anson*, and several other officers, were killed in the action; and Lord Robert Manners, who commanded the *Resolution*, died of his wounds on his return home.

On the 19th of the same month, a squadron which was detached from the main fleet, under the command of Sir Samuel Hood, captured the *Cato* and the *Jafon*, two French men of war of 64 guns each, and also *l'Aimable* of 32 guns and the *Ceres* of 18. About the same time also the fleet under Admiral Barrington took from the French, off Ushant, *le Pegase* of 74 guns, *l'Actionnaire* of 64, and ten sail of vessels under their convoy.

It was universally allowed, that in this engagement the French, notwithstanding their defeat, behaved with the greatest valour. De Grasse himself did not surrender till 400 of his people were killed, and only himself and two others remained without a wound. The captain of the *Cesar*, after his ensign-staff was shot away, and the ship almost battered to pieces, caused his colours to be nailed to the mast, and thus continued fighting till he was killed. The vessel, when taken, was a mere wreck. Other French officers behaved in
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the same manner. The valour of the British requires no encomium; it was evident from their success.

This victory was a very fortunate circumstance both for the interest and reputation of the British admiral. Before this event, the new ministry had appointed Admiral Pigot to supersede him in the command in the West Indies; and it was understood, that they meant to set on foot a rigid inquiry into the transactions at St. Eustatius. But the splendour of this victory put an end to all thoughts of that kind: he received the thanks of both houses of parliament for his services; and was created an English peer, by the title of Baron Rodney, of Rodney-Stoke, in the county of Somerset. Sir Samuel Hood was also created Baron Hood, of Catherington, in the kingdom of Ireland; and Rear-admiral Drake, and Captain Affleck, were created baronets of Great Britain. Some attempts were also made, in the house of commons, to procure a vote of censure against the new ministry, for having recalled Lord Rodney; but the motions made for this purpose were rejected by the majority.

The Count de Grasse, after his defeat, was received on-board the *Barfleur* man of war, and afterwards landed on the island of Jamacia, where he was treated with great respect. After continuing there some time, he was conveyed to England, and accommodated with a suite of apartments at the Royal Hotel in Pall-mall. His sword, which he had delivered up, according to the usual custom, to Admiral Rodney, was returned to him by the king. This etiquette enabled him to appear at court, where he was received by their majesties and the royal family in a manner suitable to his rank. From the time of his arrival in London to his departure, which was on the 12th of August 1782, he was visited by many persons of the first fashion and distinction, and was much employed in paying visits to the great officers of state, and some of the principal nobility of the kingdom, by whom he was entertained
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in a very sumptuous and hospitable style. He received, indeed, every mark of civility which the British nation could bestow; and was treated with much respect even by the common people, from the opinion that was generally entertained of his valour and merit.

Though the designs of the French against Jamaica were now effectually frustrated, the victory was not followed by those beneficial consequences which by many were expected. None of the British islands which had been taken by the French in the West Indies were afterwards recaptured; though it was hoped that this would have been the result of our naval superiority in those seas. It was also an unfortunate circumstance, that some of those ships which were taken by Admiral Rodney were afterwards lost at sea: particularly the *Ville de Paris*, *Glorieux*, and *Hector*. A British man of war, the *Centaur*, of 74 guns, was also sunk in lat. 48. 33. lon. 43. 20. on the 24th of September 1782, in consequence of the disabled state to which it was reduced by some very violent storms. Before the ship sunk, the officers and crew had sustained great hardships: most of them at last went down with the ship; but the lives of Captain Inglefield the commander, and ten other officers and seamen, were preserved by their getting on-board a pinnace. But even this was leaky; and when they went into it they were nearly in the middle of the Western ocean, without compass, quadrant, great coat, or cloak; all very thinly clothed, in a gale of wind, and with scarcely any provisions. After undergoing extreme hardships and fatigues for 16 days, they at length reached the island of Fayall, one of the Azores. They were so much reduced by want of food and incessant labour that, after they had landed, some of the stoutest men belonging to the *Centaur* were obliged to be supported through the streets of Fayall. The Jamaica homeward bound fleet were also dispersed this year by a

hurricane off the banks of Newfoundland, when the *Ramillies* of 74 guns, and several merchantmen, foundered.

The British navy also sustained, about this time, a considerable loss at home, by the *Royal George*, of 100 guns, being overset and sunk at Portsmouth. This melancholy accident, which happened on the 29th of August, was occasioned by a partial heel being given to the ship, with a view to cleanse and sweeten her; but the guns on one side being removed to the other, or at least the greater part of them, and her lower deck ports being not lashed in, and the ship thwarting on the tide with a squall from the north-west, it filled with water, and she sunk in the space of about three minutes. Admiral Kempenfelt, a very brave and meritorious officer, other officers, upwards of 400 seamen and 200 women, besides many children, perished in her.

Thus the prosecution of the war seemed to be attended with endless disasters and difficulties to all parties. The signal defeat above mentioned not only secured the island of Jamaica effectually from the attempts of the French, but prevented them from entertaining any other project than that of distressing the commerce of individuals. In the beginning of May an expedition was undertaken to the remote and inhospitable regions of Hudson's Bay; and though no force existed in that place capable of making any resistance, a 74-gun ship and two 36-gun frigates were employed on the service. All the people in that part of the world either fled or surrendered at the first summons. The loss of the Hudson's bay company, on this occasion, amounted to 500,000*l.* but the humanity of the French commander was conspicuous in leaving a sufficient quantity of provisions and stores of all kinds for the use of the British who had fled at his approach.

Another expedition was undertaken by the Spaniards to the Bahama islands, where a like easy conquest

quest was obtained. The island of Providence was defended only by 360 men, who, being attacked by 5000, could make resistance. A very honourable capitulation was granted by the victors, who likewise treated the garrison with great kindness afterwards. Some settlements on the Mosquito shore were also taken by the Spaniards: but the Bay-men, assisted by their negroes, bravely retook some of them; and having formed a little army with the Indians in those parts, headed by Colonel Despard, they attacked and carried the posts on the Black River, making prisoners of about 800 Spanish troops. This was the Colonel Despard who afterwards blasted his fair fame by engaging in a plot to murder the king and overturn the government, for which he and six others were executed Feb. 21, 1803. The great disaster which befel Spain, however, was their failure before Gibraltar, which happened in the month of September 1782, with such circumstances of horror and destruction as evinced the absurdity of persisting in the enterprise. Thus all parties were taught that it was high time to put an end to their contests. The affair of Cornwallis had shown that it was impossible for Britain to conquer America; the defeat of de Grasse had rendered the reduction of the British possessions in the West Indies impracticable by the French; the final repulse before Gibraltar, and its relief afterwards by the British fleet, put an end to that favourite enterprise, in which almost the whole strength of Spain was employed; while the engagement of the Dutch with Admiral Parker showed them that nothing could be gained by a naval war with Britain.

As early as November 30, 1782, the articles of a provisional treaty of peace were settled between Britain and America. By these it was stipulated, that the people of the United States should continue to enjoy, without molestation, the right to take fish of every kind on the grand bank, and on all the other banks,

of Newfoundland; and that they should likewise exercise and continue the same privilege in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and at every other place in the sea, where the inhabitants used heretofore to fish. The inhabitants of the United States were likewise to have the liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British seamen shall resort to; but not to cure or dry them on that island. They were also to possess the privilege of fishing on the coasts, bays, and creeks, of all the other dominions of his Britannic majesty in America; and the American fishermen were permitted to cure and dry fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks, of Nova Scotia, Magdalen islands, and Labrador. But it was agreed, that, after such places should be settled, this right could not be legally put in practice without the consent of the inhabitants and proprietors of the ground. It was accorded, that creditors upon either side should meet with no impediment in the prosecution of their claims. It was contracted that the congress should earnestly recommend it to the legislatures of the respective states, to provide for the restitution of all estates and properties which had been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects, and of the estates and properties of persons resident in districts in the possession of his majesty's arms, and who had not borne arms against the United States. It was resolved, that persons of any other description should have free liberty to go to any part whatsoever of any of the thirteen united states, and remain in it for twelve months unmolested in their endeavours to recover such of their estates, rights, and properties, as might not have been confiscated; and it was concerted that the congress should earnestly recommend to the several states a revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render them perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation which, on the return of the blessings of peace, should
universally

universally prevail. It was understood that no future confiscations should be made, nor prosecutions commenced against any person, or body of men, on account of the part which he or they had taken in the present war; and that those who might be in confinement on such a charge, at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, should be immediately set at liberty. It was concluded that there should be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic majesty and the United States; that all hostilities by sea and land should immediately cease; and that prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty. It was determined that his Britannic majesty should expeditiously, and without committing destruction of any sort, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets, from every port, place, and harbour, of the united states. The navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, was to remain for ever free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States. In fine, it was agreed in the event, that if any place or territory belonging to Great Britain, or to the United States, should be conquered by the arms of either before the arrival of the provisional articles in America, it should be restored without compensation or difficulty.

In the treaty between Great Britain and France, it was agreed that Newfoundland should remain with England, as before the commencement of the war; and, to prevent disputes about boundaries, it was accorded that the French fishery should begin from Cape St. John on the eastern side, and going round by the north, should have for its boundary Cape Ray on the western side. The islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which had been taken in September 1778, were ceded in full right to France. The French were to continue to fish in the gulph of St. Laurence, conformably to the fifth article of the treaty of Paris. The King of Great Britain was to restore to France the island of St. Lucia, and to cede and guarantee to her that of Tobago.

Tobago. The King of France was to surrender to Great Britain the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat. The river of Senegal and its dependences, with the forts of St. Louis, Podor, Galam, Arguin, and Portendic, were to be given to France; and the island of Goree was to be restored to that power. Fort James and the river Gambia were guaranteed to his Britannic majesty; and the gum-trade was to remain in the same condition as before the commencement of hostilities. The King of Great Britain was to restore to his most Christian majesty all the establishments which belonged to him at the breaking out of the war on the coast of Orixá and in Bengal, with the liberty to surround Chandernagor with a ditch for draining the waters; and became engaged to secure to the subjects of France in that part of India, and on the coasts of Orixá, Coromandel, and Malabar, a safe, free, and independent trade, either as private traders, or under the direction of a company. Pondicherry, as well as Karical, was to be rendered back to France; and his Britannic majesty was to give as a dependency round Pondicherry the two districts of Valanour and Bahour; and as a dependency round Karical, the four contiguous Magans. The French were again to enter into the possession of Mahe, and of the comptoir at Surat. The allies of France and Great Britain were to be invited to accede to the present pacification; and the term of four months was to be allowed them, for the purpose of making their decision. In the event of their aversion from peace, no assistance on either side was to be given to them. Great Britain renounced every claim with respect to Dunkirk. Commissioners were to be appointed respectively by the two nations to inquire into the state of their commerce, and to concert new arrangements of trade on the footing of mutual convenience. All conquests on either side, in any part of the world whatsoever,

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not mentioned nor alluded to in the present treaty, were to be restored without difficulty, and without requiring compensation. The prisoners upon each side were reciprocally to be surrendered, and without ransom, upon the ratification of the treaty, and on paying the debts they might have contracted during their captivity. Each crown was respectively to reimburse the sums which had been advanced for the maintenance of their prisoners by the country where they had been detained, according to attested and authentic vouchers. With a view to prevent every dispute and complaint on account of prizes which might be made at sea after the signing of the preliminary articles, it was mutually settled and understood, that the vessels and effects which might be taken in the Channel, and in the North Seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the ratification of the present preliminary articles, were to be restored upon each side; that the term should be one month from the Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary-islands inclusively, whether in the ocean or the Mediterranean; two months from the Canary islands as far as the equinoctial line or equator; and lastly, five months without exception in all other parts of the world.

These preliminary articles of peace were concluded at Versailles on the 20th of January 1783, between Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbert, minister plenipotentiary on the part of his Britannic majesty, and Charles Gravier, comte de Vergennes, the minister plenipotentiary on the part of the King of France. At the same time the preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain and Spain were also concluded at Versailles between Mr. Fitzherbert and the Comte d'Aranda, the minister plenipotentiary for the Spanish monarch. It was agreed that a sincere friendship should be re-established between his Britannic majesty and his Catholic majesty, their kingdoms, states, and subjects by sea and land in
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all parts of the world. His Catholic majesty was to keep the island of Minorca; and was to retain West Florida. East Florida was to be ceded to him by the King of Great Britain. Eighteen months from the date of the ratification of the definitive treaty were to be allowed to the subjects of the latter who had settled in the island of Minorca and in the two Floridas, to sell their estates, to recover their debts, and to transport their persons and effects, without being restrained upon account of their religion, or on any other pretence whatsoever except that of debts and prosecutions for crimes. His Britannic majesty was, at the same time, to have the power to cause all the effects that might belong to him in East Florida, whether artillery or others, to be carried away. The liberty of cutting logwood in a district of which the boundaries were to be ascertained, without molestation or disturbance of any kind whatsoever, was permitted to Great Britain. The King of Spain was to restore the islands of Providence, and the Bahamas, without exception, in the condition in which they were when they were conquered by his arms. All other conquests of territories and countries upon either side, not included in the present articles, were to be mutually restored without difficulty or compensation. The epoch for the restitutions to be made, and for the evacuations to take place, the regulations for the release of prisoners, and for the cessation of captures, were exactly the same as those which have already been related, as stipulated in the preliminary articles with France.

No sooner were these articles ratified and laid before parliament, than the most vehement declamations against ministry took place. Never had the administration of Lord North himself been arraigned with more asperity of language. The ministry defended themselves with great resolution; but found it impossible to avoid the censure of parliament. An address without any amendment was indeed carried in the
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house of lords by 72 to 59; but in the lower house it was lost by 224 to 208. On the 21st of February, 1783, some resolutions were moved in the house of commons by Lord George Cavendish, of which the most remarkable were, that the concessions made by Britain were greater than its adversaries had a right to expect; and that the house would take the case of the American loyalists into consideration. The last motion indeed his lordship consented to wave; but all the rest were carried against ministry by 207 to 190. These proceedings, however, could make no alteration with regard to the treaty, which had already been ratified by all the contending powers, the Dutch only excepted. The terms offered them were a renewal of the treaty of 1674: which, though the most advantageous they could possibly expect, were positively refused at that time. Afterwards they made an offer to accept the terms they had formerly refused; but the compliment was then returned by a refusal on the part of Britain. When the preliminary articles were settled with the courts of France and Spain, a suspension of arms took place with Holland also; but, though the definitive treaties with the other powers were finally concluded by the 3d of September, it was not till then that the preliminary articles were settled with Holland. The terms were a general restitution of all places taken on both sides during the war, excepting only the settlement of Negapatnam in the East Indies, which was to remain in the hands of Britain, unless the equivalent was given on the part of Holland. The navigation of the eastern seas was to remain free and unmolested to all the British shipping. The other articles concerned only the exchange of prisoners, and such other matters as are common to all treaties.

Thus an end was put to the most dangerous war in which Britain was ever engaged; and in which, notwithstanding the powerful combination against her,

she still remained in a state of superiority to all her enemies. At that time, and ever since, it has appeared, how much the politicians were mistaken who imagined that the prosperity of Britain depended in a great measure on her colonies: though for a number of years she had not only been deprived of these colonies, but opposed by them with all their force; though attacked at the same time by three of the greatest powers in Europe, and looked upon with an invidious eye by all the rest; the damages done to her enemies still greatly exceeded those she had received. Their trade by sea was almost ruined; and on comparing the loss of ships on both sides, the balance in favour of Britain was 28 ships of the line and 37 frigates, carrying in all near 2000 guns.

Having thus given as full an account as our limits would allow of the great national events to the conclusion of the peace in 1783, we shall now give a detail of some others, which though of sufficient importance to deserve notice, could not without interrupting the narrative. It has repeatedly been observed, that thro' the violence of parties, a general temper of distrust and suspicion took place throughout the nation, insomuch that the most improbable stories with respect to individuals began to gain credit, of which an instance was given in the case of Mr. Sayre. From certain circumstances, however, it appeared, that there undoubtedly were persons in the kingdom who wished if possible to destroy the national strength in such a manner as to render it impossible for us to make head against the attempts of our enemies. On the 8th of December 1776, a fire broke out in the ropewhouse of the dock-yard at Portsmouth, which totally consumed it, but without doing any very material damage. For some time the affair passed as an accident; but in clearing away the rubbish, a tin-box was found with a wooden bottom containing matches which had been lighted, and underneath was a vessel with spirit of wine: how-

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ever, the fire not having been properly supplied with air, had extinguished of itself before it touched the spirit of wine. Had it caught fire, all the stores in the storehouse, sufficient to rig out 50 sail of men of war, would have been destroyed. In the beginning of the year 1777, a fire happened at Bristol, which consumed six or seven warehouses; and by the finding of machines similar to those already mentioned, it was evident that the fire had not been accidental. The terror of the public was now greatly increased, and the most violent accusations against each other were thrown out by the ministerial and popular parties. On this point, however, they soon came to a right understanding, by the discovery of the author of all this mischief. This was one James Aitken, *alias* John the Painter, a native of Edinburgh. Having been from his early years accustomed to a vagrant life, to which indeed his profession naturally led him, he had gone through many different adventures. He had enlisted as a soldier, deserted, and, when pinched by want, made no scruple of betaking himself to the highway, or committing thefts. Having traversed a great part of America, he there imbibed the prejudices against Britain to such a degree, that he at last took the extraordinary resolution of singly overturning the whole power of the nation. This he was to accomplish by setting on fire the dockyards at Portsmouth and Plymouth, and afterwards the principal trading towns of the nation. With this view, he inspected with the utmost care those docks and other places on which his attempts were to be made, in order to learn with what care they were guarded. This he found in general as negligent as he could wish; and indeed had he not been some way or other very deficient in the construction of his machines, he must certainly have done a great deal of mischief: for, as his attempts were always discovered by finding his machines,

chines, it was apparent that he had met with abundance of opportunities.

For some time the affair at Portsmouth passed, as has already been mentioned, for an accident. It was soon recollected, however, that a person had been seen loitering about the rope-house, and had even been locked up one night in it; that he had worked as a painter, and taken frequent opportunities of getting into that house, &c. These circumstances exciting a suspicion that he was the incendiary, he was traced to different places, and at last found in a prison, to which he had been committed for a burglary. On his examination, however, he behaved with such assurance and apparent consciousness of innocence, as almost disconcerted those who thought him guilty. At last he was deceived into a confession by another painter, who was likewise an American, and pretended to compassionate his case. Thus evidence was procured against him: but he maintained his character to the very last; rejecting and invalidating the testimony of his false friend, on account of his baseness and treachery. He received his sentence with great fortitude; and at length not only confessed his guilt, but left some directions for preventing the dock-yards and magazines from being exposed to the like danger in time to come.

Thus it appeared that the whole of this alarm of treason and American incendiaries was owing to the political enthusiasm of one man. Still, however, it appeared that the French court were very well acquainted with many particulars relating to the state of this kingdom, and the movements of our squadrons, which ought by all means to have been kept secret. These treacherous proceedings were first detected in the month of June 1780. One Ratcliffe, master of a cutter, gave information that he had been hired by one Mr. Rogere to carry packets to France, for which he was to be paid 20l. each time, and to have
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100l. besides, at a certain period. Apprehending at last, however, that he might incur some danger by continuing this employment, he gave information of what was going on to one Mr. Steward, a merchant at Sandwich, by whom his last packet was carried to the secretary of state. After being opened and sealed up again, it was returned, and he was directed to carry it to France as formerly. This was the fate of several succeeding packets, though it was some time before Ratcliffe saw the principal party concerned. At last this was accomplished by his complaining to Mr. Rogere that he had not been paid the 100l. according to promise. A meeting being thus procured, it was found that the person who gave intelligence to the enemy was one M. Henry de la Motte, a French gentleman then residing in London. On searching his house, no papers of any consequence were found; but on his arrival, he being absent when the messengers first arrived, he threw some out of his pocket, unperceived by any body, as he thought. The papers, however, were taken up by the messengers, and gave plain indications not only of a treasonable correspondence with the enemy, but that he was connected with one Henry Lutterloh, Esq. a German, who then resided at Wickham near Portsmouth. This person being also apprehended, not only made a full discovery of the treasonable correspondence with France, but gave abundant proofs of himself being one of the most depraved and hardened of all mankind, lost to every sensation excepting the desire of accumulating wealth. His evidence, however, and other strong circumstances, were sufficient to convict M. de la Motte, who was accordingly executed, though the king remitted that dreadful part of his sentence of having his heart taken out alive, &c. During his trial, and on every other occasion, he behaved in such a manner as showed him to be an accomplished gentleman;

man; and not only excited the compassion, but the admiration, of every one who saw him.

During the whole course of the war, only one other person was detected in any act of treason; and he appears to have been actuated merely by mercenary motives, though La Motte and John the Painter probably acted from principle. This was one David Tyrie, a native of Edinburgh. Having been bred in the mercantile line, and engaged in a number of speculations with a view to gain money, in all of which he discovered considerable abilities, he at last engaged in the dangerous one of conveying intelligence to the French of the ships of war fitted out in Britain, the time of their sailing, &c. For this he was apprehended in February 1782. The discovery was made by means of one Mrs. Askew, who passed for his wife, having delivered a bundle of papers in a hurry to a school mistress, and desiring her not to show them to any body. Instead of this, however, she not only inspected them herself, but showed them to another, by whom they were sent to the secretary at war. By this, and another packet discovered by William James, who had been employed to carry it to France, Tyrie was convicted and executed in the month of August 1782. He behaved with great resolution, and at last showed rather an indecent levity and unconcern, by laughing at the place of execution. The sentence not only took place in the dreadful manner appointed by law, but the crowd behaved with the most shameful and unexampled barbarity. "Such (says the accounts of his execution) being the *singular conduct* of many who were near the body, that happy was he who could procure a finger, or some vestige of the criminal!"—This unhappy man, while in prison, had, with his companions, contrived a method of effecting their escape, by working through a brick-wall three feet thick, and covering the hole with a plank coloured like the bricks; but the scheme was discovered by the imprudence

imprudence of Tyrie himself asking the keeper how thick the wall was.

On the whole, it appears, that notwithstanding the excessive altercation and virulence of parties, which even went to such a length as to produce duels between some members of parliament, neither the one nor the other entertained any designs against what they believed to be the true interest of the nation. The one seem to have regarded its honour too much, and been inclined to sacrifice even its existence to that favourite notion: the other perhaps regarded the national honour too little; as indeed no advantageous idea could have been formed of the spirit of a nation which could submit to grant its colonies independence without any struggle. The event, however, has shown that the loss of the colonies, so far from being a disadvantage, has been the very reverse. The commerce of Britain, instead of being dependent on America, arrived at a much greater height than ever, and the consequent increase of wealth, could we have avoided the ruinous war in which we have lately been engaged, might by this time have enabled the nation to free itself from that enormous debt, great part of which had been contracted, first in defending, and then attempting to conquer, the colonies.

1783. DURING the coalition administration, while Mr. Fox and Lord North were joint secretaries of state, Mr. Pitt brought forward (May 7th) a specific plan for adding one hundred members to the counties, and abolishing a proportionable number of the bur-gage tenure and other small and obnoxious boroughs. The revival of this important subject, which had deeply agitated the public mind, produced an animated debate; in the course of which, the discordant sentiments of ministers did not fail to awaken afresh the resentment of the house against the "ill starred coalition."

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Lord North, in a strain of allusive pleasantry declared, "That, while some with Lear demanded an hundred knights, and others with Goneril were satisfied with fifty, he with Regan exclaimed, No, not ONE." His lordship, entering into a graver and more argumentative vein, proceeded to deny, "that the house of commons had not its full and proper weight in the scale of government; his political life was a proof that it had. It was parliament that made him a minister. He came amongst them without connection. It was to them he was indebted for his rise, and they had pulled him down; he had been the creature of their opinion, and of their power; his political career was consequently a proof of their independence; the voice of the commons was sufficient to remove whatever was displeasing to the sentiments and wishes of the country; and in such a situation to *parade* about a reform was idle, unnecessary, inexpedient, and dangerous."

Mr. Fox, whose opinion on this great national question was totally irreconcilable with that of his brother secretary's, very honourably for himself, preferred the consistency of public character to every consideration, either of private friendship or parliamentary attachments.

While the discussion of this important subject exposed the absurdity of the coalition; it is very remarkable that it paved the way for another in every view certainly as singular and extraordinary. The lord advocate for Scotland, Mr. Dundas, who had all along distinguished himself by his zeal for high prerogative, suspended upon the present occasion his natural sentiments, became at once a convert to the doctrine of reform, and asserted his entire approbation of Mr. Pitt's resolutions. He stood up boldly the advocate of the people, and affirmed, "that the yielding to their wishes would be the happiest means of putting an end to their complaints; and would certainly give

a fresh infusion of fine blood into the constitution of the house of commons." Though the lord advocate and Mr. Pitt had been in office together during the short-lived Shelburne administration, they had continued until now rather shy than familiar, but this unexpected support and patriotic effusion effected a cordial and lasting union between those two celebrated characters. But after all the support Mr. Pitt's motion and resolutions met with, they were lost by a majority of 293 to 149.

Whatever may be the language or views of party, it must be evident to every impartial mind interested in the welfare of Britain, that the house of commons is far from answering all the salutary ends of its institution. While it is admitted that most of the boroughs are the property of individuals, who can only look to the crown for honours and emoluments; the minister must possess a power in the house of commons incompatible with the general interests of the people. No political truth has been more completely ascertained by experience than this; and the bold assertion of Lord North, "that his administration was a proof of the independence of the house of commons," might perhaps have had some degree of weight, could it be lost to the public recollection, that the noble lord was originally advanced to the premiership by the *fiat* of the *executive power*, and was continued in office, during the first and last years of his administration at least, by the influence of the same power, in daring contrariety to the clear, unanimous, and decided, sense of the nation. His lordship's compulsive resignation at last, proved only that there are limits, beyond which, even the complaisance of the representative body does not extend.

Mr. Pitt having failed in his attempt to improve the constitution of the house of commons, Mr. Alderman Sawbridge brought forward, May 16, his motion for shortening the duration of parliaments. The motion was seconded by Alderman Bull, and warmly

supported by the Earl of Surrey and others, but was lost by a majority of 123 to 56.

In the course of the summer, the king, by virtue of an act passed for that purpose, issued an order in council, limiting the commerce between the continent of America and the British West-India islands to ships British-built. This was conformable to the grand principle on which the act of navigation was originally founded; and, though this restriction gave extreme offence to the inhabitants of the United States, they had certainly no just reason to complain, as they could have no possible right to claim the advantages of dependence and independence at one and the same time.

On the 18th of November, Mr. Fox moved for leave to bring in a bill for vesting the affairs of the East-India company in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietary and the public. The plan proposed by Mr. Fox, was marked with all the characteristics of his ardent, daring, and luminous mind. The total derangement of the finances of the company, and their utter incompetency to govern the vast territories of which they had by very questionable means obtained the possession, was too evident to admit of contradiction. The evil was notorious, and difficult indeed was the task of devising an adequate remedy. This famous bill proposed to take at once from the directors and proprietors, the entire administration, both of their territorial and commercial affairs; and to vest the management and direction of them in the hands of seven commissioners named in the bill, and irremovable by the crown, except in consequence of an address of either house of parliament. These commissioners were to be assisted by a subordinate board of nine directors, to be named in the first instance, by parliament, and afterwards chosen by the proprietors. These commissioners and directors were empowered to enter immediately into possession of all lands, tenements, books, records, vessels,



J. Chapman Sc.

The R^t Hon.^{ble} CHARLES JAMES FOX.

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fels, goods, merchandize, and securities, in trust for the company. They were required to come to a decision upon every question within a limited time, or to assign a specific reason for their delay. They were never to vote by ballot, and they were almost in all cases to enter upon their journals the reasons of their vote. They were to submit once in every six months an exact state of their accounts to the court of proprietors, and at the beginning of every session to present a statement of their affairs to both houses of parliament. This bill, which vested the government in commissioners, was to continue in force four years, that is, till the year after the next general election. It was accompanied by a second bill, enacting very excellent, wise, and equitable, regulations for the future government of the British territories in Hindoostan. It took from the governor-general all power of acting independently of his council. It declared every existing British power in India incompetent to the acquisition or exchange of any territory in behalf of the company;—to the acceding to any treaty of partition;—to the hiring out the company's troops; to the appointment to office of any person removed for misdemeanour;—and to the hiring out any property to any civil servant of the company. It prohibited all monopolies; and also declared every illegal present recoverable by any person for his own sole benefit. But that part of the present bill, upon which the principal value seemed to be placed by its author, related to the Zemindars, or native landholders, whom it employed effectual means to secure in the possession of their respective inheritances, and to defend from oppression. It particularly endeavoured to preclude all vexations and usurious claims that might be made upon them. It therefore prohibited mortgages, and subjected every doubtful claim to the examination and censure of the commissioners.

It is scarcely possible to conceive the astonishment excited in the house of commons by the disclosure

of this system. It was espoused with zeal and enthusiasm by the friends of the minister; and it was attacked by his opponents with all the vehemence of indignation, and all the energy of invective. It was on one side of the house extolled as a master-piece of genius, virtue, and ability; while on the other it was reprobated as a deep and dangerous design, fraught with mischief and ruin. Mr. Pitt distinguished himself on this occasion as a formidable adversary of the minister. He acknowledged, "that India indeed wanted a reform, but not such a reform as this: it wanted a *constitutional* alteration, and not a *tyrannical* one, that broke through every principle of equity and justice. By the bill before the house an attack was made on the most solemn charters: it pointed a fatal blow against the faith and integrity of parliament: it broke through every tie by which man was bound to man. The principle of this bill once established, what security had the other public companies of the kingdom? What security had the bank of England? What security had the national creditors, or the public corporations? Or indeed, what assurance could we have for the GREAT CHARTER itself, the foundation of all our liberties? It would be folly in the extreme to suppose, that the principle, once admitted, would operate only on the present occasion. Good principles might sleep, but bad ones never. It was the curse of society, that when a bad principle was once established, bad men would always be found to give it its full effect. The right-honourable mover had acknowledged himself to be a man of ambition, and it now appeared that he was prepared to sacrifice the king, the parliament, and the people, at the shrine of his ambition. He desired to elevate his present connections to a situation in which no political convulsions, and no variations of power, might be able to destroy their importance, and terminate their ascendancy."

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On the other hand, Mr. Fox with astonishing eloquence and ability vindicated the bill. To the charge of violating the company's charter; he replied, that certainly persons who talked thus had never read the other act by which the company's charters had been again and again altered to a great extent. The regulating act of 1773, had effected various changes, and had given the whole military and civil government to parliamentary commissioners in India. The different acts by which the dividends of the company had been restrained, had pointed directly at their commercial concerns, and affected their property. He had been warned by his opponents against palliatives and half-measures; and he should be glad to hear how it was possible to adapt a new system by parliamentary authority, without striking at those charters, which entitled the company to continue the old one. He had adverted to the plea of necessity; and it was objected to him, that necessity was the creed of slaves. He would tell those objectors, that it was also the creed of freemen. Every syllable that had been uttered respecting the intangibility of claims made venerable by prescription and parchments, was a battery against the main pillars of the British constitution. He would risk (he said) his all upon the excellence of this bill. He would risk upon it whatever was most dear to him, whatever men most valued, the character of integrity, of talents, of honour, of present reputation and future fame:—these he would stake upon the constitutional safety, the enlarged policy, the equity and wisdom of the measure. Whatever therefore might be the fate of its authors, he had no fear that it would produce to this country every blessing of commerce and revenue; and by extending a generous and humane government over those millions whom the inscrutable dispensations of providence had placed under us in the remotest regions of the earth; it would consecrate the name of England among the noblest nations.

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While the bill was pending in the commons, a petition was presented by the East India company, representing the measure as subversive of their charter, and operating as a confiscation of their property without charging against them any specific delinquency; without trial, without conviction; a proceeding contrary to the most sacred privileges of British subjects; and praying to be heard by counsel against the bill. The city of London also took the alarm, and presented a strong petition to the same effect. But it was carried with uncommon rapidity through all its stages in the house of commons by decisive majorities, the division on the second reading being 217 to 103 voices. In the house of lords, the second reading took place on the 15th of December, when counsel was heard at the bar in behalf of the company: and on the 17th it was moved that the bill be rejected. On this occasion Lord Camden spoke with great ability against the bill, which his lordship affirmed to be "in the highest degree pernicious and unconstitutional. To divest the company of the management of their own property, and commercial concerns, was to treat them as idiots; and he regarded the bill, not so much in the light of a commission of bankruptcy as of lunacy. But as a means of throwing an enormous addition of weight into the scale, not of legal, but ministerial influence, it was still more alarming. Were this bill to pass into a law, his lordship forcibly declared, we should see the King of England and the King of Bengal contending for superiority in the British parliament." After a vehement debate, the motion of rejection was carried by 95 against 76 voices.

Such was the concluding scene of the coalition administration, from whose vigour its partisans had conceived the most sanguine hopes; and whose strength had been represented by its enemies so vast and irresistible, as would in its progress break down all the barriers

barriers of the constitution. As the first divisions in the upper house were favourable to this bill, it will naturally be imagined that such a sudden and remarkable change of sentiment, must have been occasioned by the intervention of some powerful cause, adequate to so extraordinary and unexpected an effect: and, as the solution of this phenomenon will serve as a key to subsequent transactions of some importance, it particularly merits insertion. On the 11th of December, Earl Temple (at present Marquis of Buckingham) had a conference with his majesty, which appears principally to have turned on the bill then pending in parliament. Though it was generally believed that the most entire cordiality and confidence on all points did not subsist between the king and his ministers, yet upon this measure they had obtained his concurrence. It was probably the language that had been held by some of the members in the house of commons, who, in the heat of debate had asserted, that, if the bill passed into a law, the crown would be no longer worth wearing, that first excited doubts in the royal breast. Earl Temple, however, in the conference alluded to, having clearly and fully explained his ideas on the nature and tendency of the bill, the sovereign became at once a complete convert to the views and system of opposition: he considered himself as having been duped and deceived by his confidential servants. A card was immediately written, stating, "that his majesty allowed Earl Temple to say, that whoever voted for the India bill was not *not his* friend, but would be considered by him as his enemy. And if these words were not strong enough, Earl Temple might use whatever words he might deem stronger or more to the purpose."

An entire change of administration was therefore at all hazards determined upon; and accordingly at midnight on the 18th of December, a royal message was sent to the secretaries of state, demanding the seals of their
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several departments, and at the same time directing that they should be delivered to the sovereign by the under secretaries, as a personal interview would be disagreeable. Early next morning letters of dismissal, signed Temple, were sent to the other members of the cabinet. In a few days after, Mr. Pitt was declared first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; the Marquis of Carmarthen, and Mr. Thomas Townshend, created Lord Sydney, were nominated secretaries of state; Lord Thurlow was reinstated as lord chancellor; Earl Gower as president of the council; the Duke of Rutland was constituted lord privy seal; Lord Howe placed at the head of the admiralty; and the Duke of Richmond of the ordinance. The Earl of Northington was recalled from his government of Ireland, to which Lord Temple, who had retained the seals of secretary only three days, was again appointed to succeed. On the 25th of March 1784, the parliament was dissolved by proclamation, and a new parliament convened to meet on the 18th of May.

As the general election was, in fact, an appeal to the sense of the nation upon an extraordinary occasion, so the decision of the people was fully and explicitly in favour of the new ministers. The influence of the crown, being evidently combined with the inclination of the country, the effect produced was astonishing. The coalitionists, even those who once stood highest in the estimation of the public, were almost every where thrown out. But the most distinguished contest was that of the election for the city of Westminster; where the parties maintained a long and violent struggle, almost as memorable as a battle between contending nations. Mr. Fox, however, to the surprise of all, closed the poll with a majority of 235; but the high bailiff, by a scandalous partiality, refused to make the return in his favour, for which an action was afterwards

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afterwards brought by Mr. Fox, in the court of king's bench, and a verdict with large damages obtained.

The meeting of parliament took place on the 18th of May; and from this term we may date the commencement of the parliamentary existence of administration. The remainder of the last session may rather be said to have been spent in a contest about places and power, than in the characteristic exertions of a regular government. The new ministers had now completed their arrangements; they had obtained every advantage of situation; and had leisure to pursue, and strength to carry those measures which were to decide their character as statesmen and legislators.

On the 16th of June, a motion was made by Mr. Alderman Sawbridge, "that a committee be appointed to enquire into the present state of the representation of the commons of Great Britain in parliament." Mr. Pitt, in the usual language of ministers, now stated, that the *time* was improper, but observed also, that the measure had his approbation, and he should bring the subject before parliament early next session. Mr. Fox thought, that as the minister could never command a greater majority than at present, this was the proper period to ensure success, and warmly supported the motion. But the most remarkable circumstance attending this debate was, that Mr. Dundas, who had supported the former proposition of Mr. Pitt, had the good luck to escape the charge of inconsistency in opposing the present motion, by the fortunate discovery of a distinction which preserved his reputation. His objection was, that the committee *now* moved for was a select committee, whereas the committee for which he had *formerly* voted was a committee of the whole house. Lord Mulgrave moved the previous question, which was carried by a majority of 74.

Mr. Pitt had now reached the summit of popularity, and the public with impatient anxiety expected the production of his plan for the future government of India.

Mr. Pitt therefore, introduced this grand business on the 6th of July, by bringing forward a bill, founded on the general principles of that rejected by the former parliament, and to which the company had now given their slow and reluctant assent. By this bill, a board of control, composed of a certain number of commissioners of the rank of privy counsellors, was established, the members of which were to be appointed by the king, and removeable at his pleasure. This board was authorised to check, superintend, and controul, the civil and military government and revenue of the company. The dispatches transmitted by the court of directors to the different presidencies, were to be previously subjected to the inspection of the board, and were also by them to be counter-signed. The directors were enjoined to pay due obedience to the orders of the board, touching civil and military government and revenues; and in case such orders do at any time, in the opinion of the directors, relate to matters not connected with these points, they are empowered to appeal to his majesty in council, whose decision is declared final. The bill also enacted, that the appointment of the court of directors to the office of governor-general, president, or counsellor to the different presidencies, shall be subject to the approbation and recal of his majesty. As to the Zemindars, or great hereditary land-holders of India, who had been violently dispossessed of their property, and who, agreeably to the tenor of Mr. Fox's bill, were to have been universally and peremptorily reinstated in their zemindaries, the present bill provided, only that an *enquiry* should be instituted, in order to restore such as should appear to have been irregularly and unjustly deprived. Lastly, an high tribunal was created, for the trial of Indian delinquents, consisting of three judges, one from each court, of four peers, and six members of the house of commons, who were authorised to judge without appeal; to award, in case of conviction,

conviction, the punishment of fine and imprisonment, and to declare the party convicted incapable of serving the East India company. Such were the grand and leading features of Mr. Pitt's bill.

With all the partiality of the house in favour of Mr. Pitt, this bill was found to be so crude and imperfect on its first appearance, that almost all his own friends objected to one or other of its clauses; and in a variety of subsequent amendments it underwent, it may be said to have lost entirely its original shape; and after all, such were its radical defects, that it required (as will appear in the sequel) a declaratory act to render it intelligible. With respect to the amendments, Mr. Sheridan humorously remarked, "that twenty-one new clauses were added to the bill, which were distinguished by the letters of the alphabet, and he requested some gentleman to suggest three more, in order to complete the hornbook of the present ministry. The old clauses were now degraded, and were placed in black letters at the bottom of the page, mourning for the folly of their parents, and the slovenly manner in which the bill was drawn." On the motion of commitment, the numbers were, ayes 276, noes 61; and it was carried in triumph to the house of peers, where, after an opposition vigorous in point of exertion, but feeble in regard of numbers, the bill passed August 9, 1784. It was however accompanied by a protest, in which it was severely branded as a measure ineffectual in its provisions, unjust in its inquisitorial spirit, and unconstitutional in its partial abolition of trial by jury.

The attention of the house was transferred to a bill introduced by the minister, for the more effectual prevention of smuggling, which had, of late years arisen to a most alarming height. This bill contained various prudential, but somewhat severe, regulations. The distance from shore at which seizures should in future be deemed lawful was extended, and the con-

structing of vessels of a certain form and dimension peculiarly calculated for smuggling prohibited. But by far the most extraordinary part of the present plan was the reduction of the duties paid by the East India company on the importation of tea, which was declared to be the grand medium of the smuggling traffic; and the consequent imposition of a new duty on windows, already most grievously burthened, to the amount of the deficiency, stated at no less than 600,000*l.* per annum. This was styled by the minister a *commutation tax*; and the bill passed the house by a great majority.

The remaining great operation of finance during this session, was the providing for the arrears of the unfunded debt left at the conclusion of the war, amounting to more than twenty millions. This was disposed of partly in the four per cents, and partly in a new created five per cent. stock, made irredeemable for thirty years, or until twenty-five millions of the existing funds should be extinguished. It must not be omitted, that the sum of sixty thousand pounds was voted to his majesty, to enable him to discharge the debt contracted on the civil list. This was the fourth grant for the same purpose since his accession.

The last measure which came before parliament during the present session, was a bill introduced by Mr. Dundas for the restoration of the estates forfeited in Scotland in consequence of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. Mr. Dundas declared "the measure to be, in his opinion, worthy of the justice and generosity of parliament. He said there was not one of the families comprehended in the scope of it, in which some person had not atoned for the crimes and errors of his ancestors, by sacrificing his blood in the cause of his country; and that the sovereign had not for a long series of years past a more loyal set of subjects than the highlanders and their chieftains. Of this the late Lord Chatham was deeply sensible, and that illustrious statesman had publicly recognised the rectitude of

of the measure now proposed. And he trusted that the remains of a system, which, whether directed at first by narrow views or sound policy, ought certainly to be temporary, would be completely annihilated under the administration of his son. He did not however mean, that the estates should be freed from the claims existing against them at the time of forfeiture. This might be regarded as a premium for rebellion. He therefore proposed the appropriation of such sums, amounting to about 80,000*l.* to public purposes; 50,000*l.* of which he would recommend to be employed in the completion of the grand canal reaching from the Frith of Forth to that of Clyde."

This liberal measure was received in a manner that did honour to the feelings of the house. Mr. Fox, in particular, with his usual generosity, bestowed upon it the highest encomiums. Nevertheless when the bill was sent to the lords, it met with a most determined resistance from the lord chancellor, who expatiated on that maxim of ancient wisdom, which pronounced treason to be a crime of so deep a dye, that nothing less was adequate to its punishment, than the total eradication of the person, the name, and the family, out of the community. Fortunately on dividing the house, this nobleman was left in a disgraceful minority, and to the entire satisfaction of the public the bill passed.

An end was put to the session August 20, 1784, the king returning his warmest thanks to the two houses, for their zealous and diligent attention to the public service. He predicted the happiest effects from the bill for the better government of India. He spoke in terms of the highest approbation of the laws enacted for the improvement of the revenue. He thanked his faithful commons of their provision for the arrears of the civil list; deploring at the same time in the usual style, the *unavoidable burthens* imposed upon his people. He noticed the definitive treaty with Holland, and the peace concluded in India; and
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trusted, from the assurances of foreign powers, that the present tranquillity would prove of permanent duration.

1785. The parliament of Great Britain assembled for its second session on the 25th of January. The measure on this occasion, chiefly recommended in the speech from the throne, was the adjustment of such points in the commercial intercourse between this country and Ireland, as were not yet finally arranged.

Mr. Pitt, as he had pledged himself to do it, brought forwards his plan of reform on the 18th of April; in his introductory speech, he said that there never was a moment when the minds of men were more enlightened on this interesting topic, or more prepared for its discussion. He declared his present plan of reform to be perfectly coincident with the spirit of those changes which had taken place in the exercise of the elective franchise from the earliest ages, and not in the least allied to the spirit of innovation. So far back as the reign of Edward I. before which the component orders of the representative body could not be distinctly traced, the franchise of election had been constantly fluctuating. As one borough decayed and another flourished, the first was abolished and the second invested with the right. Even the representation of the counties had not been uniform. James I. in his proclamation for calling a parliament, directed that the sheriffs should not call upon such boroughs as were decayed and ruined to send members to parliament. For this discretion, as vested in the crown, he was certainly no advocate; but he wished to establish a permanent rule to operate like the discretion out of which the constitution had sprung. He wished, he said, "to bring forward a plan that should be complete, gradual, and permanent; a plan that not only corrected the inequalities of the present system, but which would be competent to preserve the purity it restored, and give to the constitution not only

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ly consistency, but if possible immortality. It was his design that the actual number of the house of commons should be preserved inviolate. His immediate object was to select a certain number of the decayed and rotten boroughs, the right of representation attached to thirty-six of which, should be transferred to the counties, in such proportions as the wisdom of parliament might prescribe; and that all unnecessary harshness might be avoided, he recommended the appropriation of a fund of one million to be applied to the purchasing the franchise of such boroughs, on their voluntary application to parliament. When this was effected, he proposed to extend the bill to the purchasing the franchise of other boroughs, besides the original thirty-six; and to transfer the right of returning members to large towns, hitherto unrepresented, upon their petitioning parliament to be indulged with this privilege." The other most important particulars of Mr. Pitt's plan, were the admitting of copy-holders to an equality with free-holders, and the extending the franchise in populous towns, where the electors were few, to the inhabitants in general. The result of the minister's plan was to give one hundred members to the popular interest in the kingdom, and to extend the right of election to one hundred thousand persons, who by the existing provisions of the law, were excluded from the privilege.—This plan, which was admitted on all hands to be cautious, temperate, and well-digested, was nevertheless rejected by a majority of 248 to 175 voices. To those who know that a minister can command a majority almost upon any question; to those who consider that this was a measure very favourable to the people, and proposed by a minister in the height of popularity and favour; to such I say, it will appear, that this question was never intended to be carried.

But the subject, which of all others chiefly engaged the attention of parliament during the present session,

session, was the projected plan of commercial intercourse with Ireland. This new system was first introduced into the parliament of Ireland on the 7th of February, by Mr. Orde, secretary to the lord lieutenant, in the form of ten propositions; but, by a slight alteration, they were at last increased to eleven. In this state they received the final assent of the parliament of Ireland, on the 16th of February. On the 22d of the same month Mr. Pitt brought the subject before the British house of commons. The immense magnitude of the plan, the multiplicity and complexity of the objects it embraced, seemed to keep the public mind in a kind of suspense; and for near a month after its first introduction, there were no indications discernible of serious or determined opposition. However, about the middle of March, the spirit of commercial jealousy appeared to be thoroughly awakened. The propositions were really (and laudably) favourable to Ireland. The petitions presented against the measure therefore in the English nation, amounted in the whole to upwards of sixty; and there were scarcely a single species of manufacture or merchandize upon the subject of which, the persons peculiarly interested had not received considerable alarm. From the 16th of March to the 12th of May, the house of commons were almost incessantly employed in the hearing of counsel, and the examination of witnesses. In consequence of this long and able investigation, many additional lights were thrown upon the subject; and Mr. Pitt was compelled to acknowledge the necessity of making some material alterations and amendments in his original plan.

Accordingly, on the 12th of May, the minister brought forward a series of propositions, so altered, modified, and enlarged, as to exhibit in their improved form, what might well be considered as a new system. On this occasion, a debate ensued which lasted
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until eight o'clock in the morning, when the first resolution, broken into two distinct propositions in the new arrangement, passed the house. The remaining resolutions were subsequently carried, after a most obstinate and violent contest, and on the 30th of May were sent up to the house of lords. Here they were again the subject of long and laborious investigation; in the course of which, various amendments were offered and received by the house. At last, on the 19th of July, the resolutions in their altered state were sent down from the lords to the commons; where, after much fresh and eager debate, the amendments of their lordships were agreed to by the commons; and on the 28th of July, an address was presented to the king by both houses of parliament, acquainting his majesty with the steps which had been taken in this important affair; adding, "that it remained for the parliament of Ireland to judge of the conditions according to their wisdom and discretion, as well as of every other part of the settlement proposed to be established by mutual consent." The two houses now adjourned themselves to a distant day, and on the 30th of September 1785, the parliament was prorogued by royal proclamation.

If the original propositions adopted by the Irish legislature were rejected by the British parliament, the English series of propositions proved still more obnoxious to the general spirit of the Irish nation. A number of pressing circumstances, however, in the relative situation of the two kingdoms, rendered some such experiment at this time absolutely necessary. It was a fact completely ascertained, that the free trade gained to Ireland had not been productive of those advantages which its sanguine friends had so often predicted. To promote, therefore, the mutual interest of England and Ireland, to regulate the commercial intercourse between both countries on equal principles, were the objects the *original* propositions protested to have in view; and the philanthropist will

certainly lament, that a scheme of so liberal and generous an aspect, should be defeated by the spirit of mercantile jealousy. This disposition so fully displayed itself, while the propositions were pending in the British parliament, that almost every individual, in any shape interested in trade, seemed to consider the success of that measure, and his own ruin, as ultimately and inseparably connected. The sister kingdom, however, it must be confessed, in the rejection of the plan transmitted from England, was actuated by higher and nobler motives. Ireland, by long struggles, had at last established the independence of her legislature; and finding that the fourth proposition struck at that independence, the parliament, jealous of their infant liberty, and almost without glancing at the commercial features of the proffered system, peremptorily rejected the whole on that ground, with just and manly indignation. Public illuminations in the populous towns of Ireland testified the general joy excited by the sudden termination of a business which was originally intended to communicate both to England and Ireland, solid and lasting advantages; but, from the issue, appears to have been destined by a singular fate to rouse commercial jealousies, to awaken national prejudices, to provoke where it was intended to conciliate, to inflame resentment where it was expected to challenge gratitude, and to disturb the public tranquillity of both kingdoms more, perhaps, than any preceding measure of the present reign.

1786. The parliament of Great Britain met on the 24th of January. In the speech from the throne, the king declared to the house of commons, his earnest wish to enforce œconomy in every department; recommending to them the maintenance of our naval strength on the most respectable footing; and above all, the establishment of a fixed plan for the reduction of the national debt. Nothing very material occurred until near the middle of February, when a subject of
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the highest consequence attracted the attention of both parliament, and the public: this was the plan of fortifications, originally suggested by the Duke of Richmond. As a matter of revenue, it had been the design to vote for this purpose, 50,000*l.* per ann. till the whole should be completed, or should be brought into a condition of considerable forwardness. But this design was interrupted last session, in consequence of a suggestion of Colonel Barré, "that a board of land and sea officers ought to be appointed to examine the merits of the system." This idea having been pretty generally adopted by the house, Mr. Pitt not only agreed, that no money should be then voted for the purpose, but also that the 50,000*l.* granted in the year 1784, for that service, and not yet expended, should be reserved till the matter had undergone a complete investigation. In conformity with this agreement, a board of officers was appointed on the 13th of April 1785; and on the 24th of June following, they made their report to the king.

This business was again brought before parliament, in the present session, on the 10th of February; when Mr. Pitt stated the report of the board of land and sea officers, to be in the highest degree favourable to the plan of fortification, submitted to their decision, but the report itself he declined laying before the house, as a matter of too serious and delicate a nature for public inspection. The discontent manifested when the question was last year under discussion, now rose into the warmth of indignation. "If the report, or the essentials it contained, were not to be in some mode subject to the inspection of the house, they were, it was affirmed, in exactly the same situation in which they had stood before the board was appointed. They must decide, not upon their own judgments, but in deference to the authority of the minister. But the house of commons were not justified in voting away the money of their constituents upon the grounds of

passive complaisance, and courtly submission. The expence attending this novel system would be enormous, and it was at least their duty before they adopted it, to be fully convinced of its necessity." General Burgoyne, who was one of the board, controverted the assertion of Mr. Pitt respecting the entire approbation expressed by them of the system in question.

Mr. Pitt waved the farther discussion of the question at present, but declared his intention of bringing it again before the house in a short time, in the most specific and solemn manner. Accordingly, in about a fortnight after, he moved the following resolution; "That it appears to the house, that to provide effectually for securing the dock yards of Portsmouth and Plymouth by a permanent system of fortification, was an essential object for the safety of the state, &c. &c." On this occasion a violent debate arose, in the course of which, Mr. Sheridan eminently distinguished himself as an enemy to the measure. "When we talked of a constitutional jealousy of the military power of the crown, what was the real object," he asked, "to which we pointed our suspicion? What, but that it was in the nature of kings to love power, and in the constitution of armies to obey kings. This doubtless was plain speaking upon a delicate subject, but the nature of the question demanded it. In this point of view, would no stress be laid on the great and important distinction, to be drawn, between troops elected and separated from their fellow citizens in garrisons and forts, and men living scattered and entangled in all the common duties and connections of their countrymen? The fact was, that these strong military holds, if maintained as they must be in peace, by full and disciplined garrisons would in truth, promise ten-fold the means of curbing and subduing the country, than could arise even from doubling the present army establishment, with this extraordinary aggravation, that those very naval stores and magazines, the seeds and sources of future navies,

navies, the effectual preservation of which was the pretence for these unaffailable fortresses, would, in that case, become a pledge and hostage in the hands of the crown: a circumstance which, in a country like this, must insure unconditional submission to the most extravagant claims that despotism could dictate. Could any one possibly imagine that the system now recommended was to end with Portsmouth and Plymouth, and that the reasonings of the minister would not apply to other parts of the kingdom? No—we were to figure to ourselves the same board of officers, acting under the same instructions, going a circuit round the coasts of the kingdom. It was not possible for the house to remain at a loss to discover various places besides Chatham and Sheerness where extensive lines had actually been begun, under the auspices of the Duke of Richmond, which must necessarily be provided for according to the new system."

It was thought by many to be impossible that a man of Mr. Pitt's discernment could be the sincere and cordial advocate of so preposterous a scheme; and it was even mentioned in the house, by one of his friends, as a topic of report, that in this business he was suspected of acting against his own opinion: however this may be, certain it is, that he found himself on this occasion very generally deserted by the country gentlemen; and the division was rendered memorable by an exact equality of numbers, both the ayes and the noes amounting to 169. The speaker, being of course compelled to give his casting vote, acquired much applause, by declaring for the rejection of this chimerical, extravagant, and dangerous, system.

The subject which the minister seemed to intend should make the principal figure in this session of parliament, was the proposal of a sinking fund for the liquidation of the national debt. On the 7th of March, Mr. Pitt moved for the appointment, by ballot,

lot, of a select committee of nine persons, to report to the house the state of the public revenue and expenditure. The result of their enquiry was laid before the house on the 21st of the same month; and proved in the highest degree pleasing and satisfactory. The amount of the revenue for the current year was estimated by the committee, at 15,397,000*l*. The permanent expenditure, including the civil list, and the interests payable on the different funds, amounted to 10,554,000*l*. The peace establishment, allowing eighteen thousand men for the navy, and the usual complement of seventy regiments for the army, exclusive of life-guards and cavalry, was estimated at 3,924,000*l*. In all, 14,478,000*l*. of consequence there remained a surplus of more than 900,000*l*. The proposition which he now submitted to the house was, the appropriation of the annual sum of 1,000,000*l*. to be invariably applied to the liquidation of the national debt: but as the surplus revenue amounted to only 900,000*l*. Mr. Pitt moved for an additional duty on spirits, on certain kinds of timber imported, and on perfumery, which would be together more than sufficient to make up the deficiency. This annual million Mr. Pitt proposed to vest in the hands of certain commissioners, to be by them applied regularly to the purchase of stock; so that no sum should ever lie within the grasp large enough to tempt him to violate this sacred deposit. The interests annually discharged were, conformably to this plan, to be added to, and incorporated with the original fund, so that it would operate with a determinate and accelerated velocity. This fund was also to be assisted by the annuities granted for different terms, which would from time to time fall in within the limited period of twenty-eight years, at the expiration of which, Mr. Pitt calculated that the fund would produce an income of four millions per annum. The commissioners to be nominated under the act, were the chancellor of the exchequer,

guer, the speaker of the house of commons, the master of the rolls, the governor and deputy-governor of the bank of England, and the accomptant-general of the high court of chancery. The only amendment of any material consequence suggested on Mr. Pitt's plan was, in the progress of the bill, offered by Mr. Fox, "that whenever a new loan should hereafter be made, the commissioners should be empowered to accept the loan, or such proportion of it, as should be equal to the cash then in their hands; the interest and *douceur* annexed to which should be applied to the purposes of the sinking fund." This amendment was readily and candidly accepted by Mr. Pitt, and the bill finally passed with great and deserved approbation.

Notwithstanding the acknowledged necessity of œconomy in every department of government, it is truly painful to relate, that even before the sinking-fund bill passed into a law, a message from the king to the house of commons was delivered by the minister, stating, "that it gave him *great* concern to inform them, that it had not been found possible to confine the expences of the civil list within the annual sum of 850,000*l.* now applicable to that purpose. A farther debt had been necessarily incurred, and the king replied on the zeal and affection of his parliament to make provision for its discharge." When the last demand of this sort was made in July 1784, for the sum of 60,000*l.* Mr. Pitt rested his defence on the ground that the debt was contracted before he came last into office; but in support of the motion grounded on this message, he found it necessary to advance very different reasons. On this occasion, he stated "that under Mr. Burke's reform bill an annual reduction of 50,000*l.* from the civil list had been set apart by parliament for the liquidation by instalments of the sum of 300,000*l.* then issued in exchequer bills for the supply of former deficiencies. Of this debt, 180,000*l.* yet

yet remained unpaid, and a fresh debt of 30,000*l.* had accrued: and he justified the demand of a grant equal to these united sums upon this curious dilemma: either parliament had, at the period referred to, directed that when the proposed liquidation should be effected the civil list should be allowed 50,000*l.* per annum *more than was necessary*, or it was then put upon a footing of 50,000*l.* per annum *less than was necessary*. Experience had proved the latter to be the case; and therefore it was reasonable to expect that the sum of 210,000*l.* now wanting to clear off the old and new incumbrances, would be voted without hesitation." This application was the more extraordinary, as at the opening of the session of December 1782, and when Mr. Pitt was chancellor of the exchequer, the king in his speech from the throne had said, "I have carried into strict execution the several reductions in my civil list expences directed by an act of last session; I have introduced a farther reform in other departments, and suppressed several sinecure places in them. I have by this means so regulated my establishments, that *my expences shall not in future exceed my income*." It was in the course of the discussion observed, that the necessity of the times rendered œconomy in every part of the public expenditure indispensably necessary. All ranks of people ought to make it their first object, and it was the duty of the crown in particular to set the example. It was also urged, that while Mr. Burke's bill remained in full force, it was truly astonishing to come down in the face of an act of parliament, and call upon that house to vote money for the debts of the crown. It is almost superfluous to say, that all the arguments offered on this head proved a mere waste of words, and that the money was ultimately voted. This was not a question like parliamentary, reform or the Duke of Richmond's fortifications.

On the 2d of August, after the rising of parliament,

ment, a singular incident occurred, which engrossed for a short time the attention of the public. As the king was alighting from his post-chariot, at the garden entrance of St. James's palace, a woman decently dressed presented a paper to his majesty: and while he was in the act of receiving it, she struck with a concealed knife at his breast. The king happily avoided the blow by drawing back; and, as she was preparing to make a second thrust, one of the yeoman caught her arm, and the weapon was wrenched out of her hand. The king with great temper exclaimed, "I am not hurt—take care of the poor woman, do not hurt her." On examination before the privy council, it immediately appeared that the woman was insane. Being asked where she had lately resided, she answered frantically, "That she had been all abroad since that matter of the crown broke out." Being farther questioned what matter? she said, "That the crown was her's; and that if she had not her right, England would be deluged in blood for a thousand generations." On being interrogated as to the nature of her right, she refused to answer, saying in the genuine style of royalty, "That her rights were a mystery." It appeared that this poor maniac, whose name was Margaret Nicholson, had presented a petition ten days before, full of wild and incoherent nonsense. Like most other petitions, it had probably never been read, or the person of the petitioner would have been secured. The idea of a judicial process was of course abandoned, and she was confined to an apartment provided for her in Bethlehem hospital.

In the month of September, the king was pleased to appoint a new committee of council for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations. Of this board, the famous Charles Jenkinson, now created Lord Hawkesbury, and constituted chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, was declared president. Under the auspices of this new

commission, a treaty of commerce was, on September the 26th, signed between the courts of England and France. Its general principle was to admit the mutual importation and exportation of the commodities of each country at a very low *ad valorem* duty.

About the same time a convention was signed with Spain of some importance, as it finally terminated the long subsisting disputes respecting the British settlements on the Mosquito shore and the coast of Honduras. By the present treaty, the Mosquito settlements were formally and explicitly relinquished, as they had already virtually been by the sixth article of the general treaty of 1783. In return, the boundaries of the British settlements on the coast and bay of Honduras were somewhat extended. In a political view this convention answered a valuable purpose, as it removed a probable source of national disagreement. But the claims of humanity and justice were not sufficiently attended to: for the Mosquito settlers, who had for time immemorial occupied their lands and habitations under the protection of the English government, and who amounted to many hundred families in number, were peremptorily commanded to evacuate the country without exception, in the space of eighteen months, nothing farther being stipulated in their favour, than that his catholic majesty "shall order his governors to grant to the said English, so dispersed, all possible facilities for their removal to the settlements agreed upon by the present convention." The greatest confusion, consternation, and distress, among this unhappy people, were the inevitable consequences of this barbarous edict of expulsion, which with the cold-blooded politicians of Europe, at the distance of 3,000 miles, passed only for a regulation of commerce. An affecting representation of their distresses, and an humble petition for some sort of indemnification from the government which had thus abandoned them to their fate, was presented

sented to the board of treasury; but it does not appear to have excited any attention.

1787. The parliament re-assembled on the 23d of January; and in this session the Prince of Wales's debts came under consideration. When his royal highness attained the age of majority, in 1783, the sum of 50,000*l.* per ann. only was allotted to him out of the civil list revenue, to defray the whole expence of his establishment. Considering the numerous salaries payable to the officers of his household, this sum was clearly inadequate to the support of his rank and situation in life; and the then ministers, Mr. Fox and Lord North, strongly insisted upon the necessity of fixing the revenue of the prince at 100,000*l.* per ann. which the late king had enjoyed as Prince of Wales, at a period when the civil list produced 200,000*l.* per ann. less than at present. To this the sovereign objected; and the prince, to prevent disagreeable consequences, generously declared that he chose to depend on the spontaneous bounty of the king. The obvious result of this miserable œconomy was, that the prince in the four years which were now elapsed had contracted debts to a large amount. The public, not sufficiently advertent to these circumstances, censured the prince with a too rigid severity for the heedlessness and prodigality of his conduct. It was however too notorious to admit of disguise or palliation, that the prince was exempt from none of those youthful indiscretions and excesses by which men of high rank in early life are for the most part so unhappily characterised.

The Prince of Wales, like most other young men, had been more distinguished by a general regard to the fair sex than for any particular individual attachment. A report however of a serious nature had for some time past gained very general credit; namely, that the prince had contracted a secret marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert, a lady celebrated for personal beauty and mental accomplishments. That the prince should not

be privately married, was an event particularly guarded against by the royal marriage act. By this act it was declared that the heir apparent was incapable of marrying till the age of twenty-five years, without his father's consent, or, in case of refusal, without the consent of both houses of parliament. The marriage therefore, if it had taken place, was null in law. But this was by no means the circumstance which made the greatest impression upon the public mind. The lady was educated in the Roman-catholic religion; and the act of settlement which seated the house of Brunswick on the British throne, expressly declared the prince who married a papist to have forfeited his right of succession to the crown. To add to the difficulties of a situation in the highest degree trying and critical, the prince found his embarrassments continually increasing, and a large debt already accumulated. In the summer therefore of 1786, the prince applied to the king, his father, for assistance; but meeting with a peremptory refusal, he immediately adopted a resolution for suppressing the establishment of his household; and he formally vested 40,000*l.* per ann. of his revenue in the hands of trustees for the liquidation of his debts. His stud of running horses, his hunters, and even his coach-horses, were sold by public auction. The elegant improvements and additions making to the palace of Carlton house were suddenly stopped, and the most splendid apartments shut up from use.

The prince had lived in a state of retirement for near a twelvemonth, when he was persuaded to countenance a proposal for laying the state of his affairs before parliament; and on the 20th of April 1787, Mr. Alderman Newnham, member for the city of London, gave notice that he would bring forward a motion for an address to the king, praying him to take the situation of the prince into consideration, and to grant him such relief as he in his wisdom should think fit, and pledging the house to make good the same.

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This gave rise to an interesting conversation; and Mr. Newnham was, by the minister and many other members, earnestly entreated to withdraw his motion, as fertile of inconvenience and mischief. Mr. Pitt said, "that by the perseverance of Mr. Newnham, he should be driven to the disclosure of circumstances which he should otherwise have thought it his duty to conceal." Mr. Rolle, member for Devonshire, declared, "that the investigation of this question involved in it circumstances which tended immediately to affect the constitution in church and state." Being urged by Mr. Sheridan, and other gentleman in the confidence of the prince, to explain himself, Mr. Rolle thought proper to acknowledge, that the matter to which he alluded, as affecting both church and state, was the marriage of the prince. He said, "that the reports relative to this transaction had made a deep impression upon the minds of all men who loved and venerated the constitution. He knew that this thing could not have been accomplished under the formal sanction of law; but, if it existed as a fact, it might be productive of the most alarming consequences, and ought to be satisfactorily cleared up." Mr. Fox replied, "that he did not deny the calumny in question, merely with regard to the effect of certain existing laws, but he denied it *in toto*, in fact as well as in law. The fact not only could never have happened legally, but never did happen any way, and had, from the beginning, been a vile and malignant falsehood." Mr. Rolle rose again, and asked, "whether in what he now asserted Mr. Fox spoke from direct authority?" Mr. Fox said, he had spoken from direct authority.

In this stage of the business an interview, at the desire of the king, took place between the Prince of Wales and Mr. Pitt at Carlton-house; and the prince was informed, "that if the intended motion were withdrawn, every thing might be settled to his royal highness's satisfaction." This being acceded to, a message
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was delivered by the minister from the king to the house, stating his majesty's great concern, "that from the accounts of the Prince of Wales, it appeared that he had incurred a debt to a large amount, which, painful as it was to him to propose any addition to the burthens of his people, he was induced, by his paternal affection to the prince, to desire the assistance of parliament to discharge—on the well-grounded expectation, nevertheless, that the prince would avoid contracting any debts in future; with a view to which, the king had directed a sum of 10,000*l.* to be paid out of the civil list, in addition to his former allowance; and he had the satisfaction to observe, that the prince had given the fullest assurance of his determination to confine his future expences within his income, and had settled a plan, and fixed an order in those expences, which it was trusted would effect the due execution of his intentions." On the very next day after the accounts referred to in the royal message were laid before the house, and of which the dignified generosity of parliament suffered not the inspection, an address was voted to the king, to request him to direct the sum of 161,000*l.* to be paid out of the civil list for the full discharge of the debts of the Prince of Wales, and the farther sum of 20,000*l.* to complete the repairs of Carlton-house.

The subject of Mr. Hastings's impeachment had been resumed early in the present session, and had occupied a large proportion of time and attention. On the 9th of May, the report made by Mr. Burke from the committee, to whom it had been referred to prepare the articles of impeachment, was confirmed by the house, ayes 175, noes 89. On the following day it was voted, that Mr. Hastings be impeached: and Mr. Burke accordingly, in the name of the house of commons, and of all the commons of Great Britain, repaired to the bar of the house of lords, and impeached Mr. Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanors; at the same time acquainting their lordships, that the commons would, with
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all convenient speed, exhibit articles against him, and make good the same. On the 21st, Mr. Hastings, being conducted to the bar of the house of lords by the serjeant at arms, was taken into the custody of the black rod; but on the motion of the Lord Chancellor was admitted to bail—himself in 20,000*l.*, and two sureties, Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Summer, in 10,000*l.* each; and he was ordered to deliver in an answer to the articles of impeachment in one month from that time, or upon the second day of the next session of parliament.

During the recess of parliament, the attention of government was particularly attracted by the troubled state of Holland. In the autumn of the year 1787, the dissensions which had long subsisted between the stadtholder and the states of Holland, had risen to an alarming height, and the ultimate event of the contest seemed to depend greatly on the forbearance or interposition of foreign nations. The French were known to be friendly to the states of Holland, but they were too deeply engaged by their domestic situation to be able to render them any effectual assistance. On the other hand, the cause of the stadtholder was warmly espoused by the king of Prussia, in conjunction with Great Britain. From the commencement of the contest, the incapacity and intractability of the Prince of Orange had been very apparent. Head of the house of Nassau, he displayed neither the talents nor virtues which had for ages been supposed attached to that illustrious name. The princess, his consort, was said to possess a much larger share of spirit as well as understanding. In the month of June 1787, for reasons which have never perfectly transpired, her royal highness, then resident at Nimegoen, adopted the bold and hazardous resolution of proceeding in person to the Hague, where the states general were at that time assembled, accompanied only by the Baroness de Waffanaer and a few domestics. As might previ-
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ously be expected, she was arrested in her progress at about a league beyond Schoonhoven, and forced back to Nimeguen. If the King of Prussia recommended this journey with a view of drawing from it, as was generally believed, some plausible ground of interfering in behalf of the house of Orange, it fully answered his intention, for this incident brought matters to a crisis. On the 10th of July a memorial was addressed by the Prussian monarch to the states of Holland, in which he affected to consider the indignity offered to the Princess of Orange, his sister, as a personal insult to himself. To avenge this pretended affront, the Duke of Brunswick, who commanded the Prussian forces in the contiguous duchy of Cleves, entered Holland at the head of an army consisting of about twenty thousand men on the 13th of September. Notwithstanding the previous probability of this invasion, the consternation of the Dutch nation was extreme, and the country seemed every where unprepared for resistance. Utrecht, beyond all other cities of the union distinguished by the violence of her democratic zeal, surrendered almost as soon as summoned. The march of the Prussian general bore the appearance of a triumphal procession. While a futile resolve to suspend the office of stadtholder passed the senate of Amsterdam, Gorcum, Dordt, Schoonhoven and other towns in his route, submitted tamely to the conqueror. On the seventh day from the commencement of the invasion, the Prince of Orange made his public entry into the Hague. Amsterdam only made a show of resistance; but on the 10th of October that proud capital, now closely invested, opened its gates to the victor. To the astonishment of the world, that republic which maintained a contest of eighty years against the power of Spain; which contended for the empire of the ocean with Great Britain; which repulsed the attacks of Louis XIV. in the zenith of his glory; was over-run by the arms of Prussia in a single month.

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In consequence of these transactions, it was found necessary to assemble the parliament of Great Britain somewhat earlier than is usual in time of peace; and, the session having commenced on the 27th of November, the king, in his speech to both houses, remarked, "that at the close of the last session he had informed them of the concern with which he observed the disputes unhappily subsisting in the republic of the united provinces. Their situation soon afterwards became more critical and alarming. The King of Prussia having demanded satisfaction for the insult offered to the Princess of Orange his sister, the party which had usurped the government applied to the most christian king for assistance; and, that prince having notified to his majesty his intention of granting their request, the king did not hesitate to declare that he could not remain a quiet spectator, and gave immediate orders for augmenting his forces both by sea and land; and, in the course of this transaction, he had concluded a subsidiary treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. In the mean time the rapid success of the Duke of Brunswick enabled the provinces to deliver themselves from the oppression under which they laboured; and all subjects of contest being thus removed, an amicable explanation had taken place between the courts of London and Versailles."

In a short time treaties of alliance were concluded between the courts of London, Berlin, and the Hague; by which the two former guaranteed the stadtholderate in perpetuity to the house of Orange, as an essential part of the constitution of the United Provinces. By the treaty between the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, each of the high contracting powers engages, in case of attack, to furnish the other with a succour of 20,000 men, or an equivalent in money, within two months from the date of the requisition. Thus was Britain once more fatally entangled

in the intricate and inextricable toils of continental engagements.

1788. In the early part of the session, Mr. Hastings had delivered in his answer to the impeachment of the commons, who immediately appointed a committee of managers to make good the same, and the trial commenced on the 16th of February, 1788, in Westminster-hall, which was fitted up for the purpose with great magnificence. Our readers will not expect us to enter into the merits of a trial which lasted till the 23d of April 1795. He was acquitted.

The last business of importance which engaged the attention of parliament, was a bill to regulate the transportation of slaves from the coast of Africa to the West Indies. This bill, which was intended merely to establish a certain reasonable proportion between the number of the slaves and the tonnage of the ships, was violently and obstinately opposed by petitions from the merchants of London and Liverpool, concerned in the African trade. Counsel being therefore engaged and witnesses examined, it appeared in evidence at the bar of the house, that five feet six inches in length, and sixteen inches in breadth, was the average space allotted to each slave; the lower deck of the vessel was entirely covered with bodies; the space between the floor of that deck and the roof above, in height about five feet eight inches, was divided by a platform, also covered with human bodies: the slaves were chained two and two by their hands and feet, and by means of ring-bolts fastened to the deck; in that sultry climate their allowance was a pint of water each per day; and they were usually fed twice a-day with yams and horse-beans; after meals they were compelled by the whip to jump in their irons, which by those unfeeling monsters the slave dealers was called dancing. They had not, as was emphatically stated, when stowed together, so much room as a man in his coffin, either in length or breadth. The customary mortality of the voyage

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exceeded seventeen times the usual estimate of human life. A slave-ship when full fraught with this cargo of wretchedness and abomination, exhibited at once the extremes of human depravity and human misery. In reviewing this superlatively wicked and detestable traffic, Mr. Pitt with indignant eloquence declared, "that if, as had been asserted by the members of Liverpool, the trade could not be carried on in any other manner, he would retract what he had said on a former day and waving every farther discussion, give his instant vote for the annihilation of a traffic thus shocking to humanity. He trusted that the house being now in possession of such evidence as was never before exhibited, would endeavour to extricate themselves from the guilt and remorse which every man ought to feel for having so long over-looked such cruelty and oppression."—The bill was carried up to the house of lords, where it was fated to encounter the determined opposition of Lord Thurlow. His lordship said that the bill was full of inconsistency and nonsense. The French had lately offered premiums to encourage the African trade, and the natural presumption was, that we ought to do the same. The Duke of Chandos ventured to predict a general insurrection of the negroes in the West Indies in consequence of the present question: and Lord Sidney, who had once ranked amongst the friends of liberty, expressed in warm terms his *admiration of the system of slave laws established in Jamaica, and saw no room for any improvement.* The bill, however, had a number of friends; and, to the honour of parliament, the nation, and human nature, finally passed by a considerable majority.

Soon after the recess of parliament, the king, who had been for some time rather indisposed, was advised by his physicians to try the mineral waters of Cheltenham. His majesty accordingly took a journey to that place, and, as was reported, drank the waters in too profuse a quantity. His health appeared, nevertheless, during his residence there, greatly established;

but soon after his arrival at Windsor, late in the summer, his illness returned with new and alarming symptoms. By the end of October, it could no longer be concealed that the malady of the king was of a nature peculiarly afflictive and dreadful. A mental derangement had taken place, which rendered him totally incapable of public business. The parliament stood prorogued to the 20th of November, and on the 14th of that month circular letters were addressed to the members of the legislature, signifying that the disposition of the sovereign rendered it doubtful whether there would be a possibility of receiving his commands for the further prorogation of parliament. If not, in that case the two houses must of necessity assemble, and the attendance of the different members was earnestly requested. Parliament being accordingly assembled, the state of the king's health was formally notified to the house of peers by the Lord Chancellor, and to the commons by Mr. Pitt: and as the session of parliament could not be opened in the regular mode, an adjournment of fourteen days was recommended and adopted. Upon the re-assembling of parliament, on the 4th of December, a report of the board of privy council was presented to the two houses, containing an examination of the royal physicians; and it was properly suggested, that now was the time to settle in what manner the business of the nation should proceed in case his majesty should for any considerable time remain incapable of resuming his functions. Mr. Fox advanced as a proposition, deducible from the principles of the constitution, and the analogy of the law of hereditary succession, that, whenever the sovereign was incapable of exercising the functions of his high office, the heir apparent, if of full age and capacity, had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive authority, in the name and on the behalf of the sovereign, during his incapacity, as in the case of his natural demise." Mr. Pitt immediately rose with much
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apparent warmth, and declared, "that the assertion which had been made by Mr. Fox was little short of treason against the constitution; and he pledged himself to prove, that the heir apparent in the instance in question, had no more right to the exercise of the executive power than any other person; and that it belonged entirely to the two remaining branches of the legislature, to make such provision for supplying the temporary deficiency as they might think proper. When the regular exercise of the powers of government was from any cause suspended, to whom could the right of providing a remedy for the existing defect devolve, but to the people, from whom all the powers of government originated? To assert an inherent right in the Prince of Wales to assume the government, was virtually to revive those exploded ideas of the divine and indefeasible authority of princes, which had so justly sunk into contempt, and almost into oblivion. Kings and princes derive their power from the people, and to the people alone, through the organ of their representatives did it appertain to decide in cases for which the constitution had made no specific or positive provision."

Thus was this famous political question at issue between these two great political rivals; in which it was remarkable that Mr. Fox, the steady, uniform, and powerful, advocate of the people, appeared to lean to prerogative; and Mr. Pitt, who had been loudly accused of deserting the principles of liberty, stood forth their intrepid and zealous asserter.

On the 16th of December, the house being in a committee on the state of the nation, Mr. Pitt moved the two following declaratory resolutions; first, the interruption of the royal authority; and, second, that it was the duty of parliament to provide the means of supplying that defect. A vehement debate ensued, in the course of which Mr. Fox declared the principles of the minister to be, that the monarchy was indeed hereditary, but that the executive power ought
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to be elective: the legal metaphysics, that thus distinguished between the crown and its functions, were to him unintelligible. "Where," said he, "is that famous *dictum* to be found by which the crown is guarded with inviolable sanctity while its *powers* are left to the mercy of every assailant. The prince, it is asserted, has no more right than another person, and at the same time it is acknowledged that parliament is not at liberty to think of any other regent; and all this paradoxical absurdity for the paltry triumph of a vote over a political antagonist." The resolution was, however, on a division, carried by 268 against 204 voices. This great point being gained, the ministry proceeded without delay to convert it to their own advantage.

A letter was written to the Prince of Wales by Mr. Pitt, informing his royal highness of the plan meant to be pursued: That the care of the king's person and the disposition of the royal household should be committed to the queen, who would by this means be vested with the patronage of four hundred places, amongst which were the great offices of lord steward, lord chamberlain, and the master of the horse. That the power of the prince should not extend to the granting any office, reversion, or pension, for any other term than during the king's pleasure, nor to the conferring any peerage. The answer of the prince was firm, dignified, and temperate. He said, "it was with deep regret, that he perceived in the propositions of administration, a project for introducing weakness, disorder, and insecurity, into every branch of political business; for separating the court from the state, and depriving government of its natural and accustomed support; a scheme for disconnecting authority to command service, from the power of animating it by reward; and for allotting to him all the invidious duties of the kingly station, without the means of softening them to the public by any one act of grace, favour, or benignity." He observed, that the plea of public utility

must be strong, manifest, and urgent, that could thus require the extinction or suspension of any of those essential rights in the supreme power or its representative, or which could justify the prince in consenting, that in his person an experiment should be made to ascertain with how small a portion of kingly power the executive government of this country could be conducted. In fine, the prince declared, that his conviction of the evils which might otherwise arise, outweighed in his mind every other consideration, and would determine him to undertake the painful trust imposed upon him by that melancholy necessity, which of all the king's subjects he deplored the most.

The bill intended to carry this project into effect was brought into the house on the 16th of January 1789. Long and violent debates ensued; and in the house of lords, it was accompanied by a protest, signed by the Duke of York, at the head of the princes of the blood, and fifty-five other peers, expressive of their highest indignation at the restrictions thus arbitrarily imposed on the executive authority. These extraordinary and unprecedented proceedings were at length, happily for the public, arrested in their progress by an intimation from the chancellor, that the king was declared by his physicians to be in a state of convalescence. This was followed by a declaration, on the 10th of March, that his majesty, being perfectly recovered from his indisposition, had ordered a commission to be issued for holding the parliament in the usual manner. The tidings of the king's recovery diffused the most general and heartfelt satisfaction. A national thanksgiving was appointed, and the king himself went in solemn procession to the cathedral of St. Paul's to offer up his devotions on this event. His recovery was also celebrated throughout the kingdom by splendid illuminations, and all the other accustomed demonstrations of joy.

In the speech delivered by the chancellor in the
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name of the king to the two houses, his majesty conveyed to them his warmest acknowledgments for the additional proofs they had given of attachment to his person, of their concern for the honour and interests of his crown, and the security and good government of his dominions. It very soon appeared that the last proceedings of the ministry in the regency business were highly agreeable to the sovereign. A number of persons holding posts under the government, who had concurred in the measures of opposition, were unceremoniously dismissed from their offices; amongst whom were the Marquis of Lothian, the Duke of Queensbury, Lord Carteret, and Lord Malmesbury.

The session was terminated, August the 11th 1789, by the speech from the lord chancellor in the name of the sovereign; in which it was observed, that, "although the good offices of the king and his allies had not been effectual for the restoration of general tranquillity, the situation of affairs promised to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace." The recent events which had taken place in the different nations of Europe, rendered an assurance like this, at such an eventful period, peculiarly grateful. A war had been kindled which gradually spread from the Euxine to the Baltic; from the snow-clad mountains of Norway to the arid wastes of Tartary: and the foundation of a great and stupendous revolution had been laid, which, by a sudden and almost miraculous expansion, became at once an object of admiration and terror to a gazing and astonished world.

While the summer of the year 1789 passed away in England without producing any memorable transaction, it proved a period fruitful of commotion on the continent, and will be distinguished to the latest posterity as the epoch of the French revolution. On the 14th of July a most tremendous insurrection took place at Paris, in which the castle of the Bastille, a fortress

treſs long but vainly deemed impregnable, was carried by ſtorm. This great and aſtoniſhing event, being viewed as the triumph of liberty over deſpotiſm, was the theme of general exultation to the friends of humanity in every quarter of the world. Engliſhmen, particularly alive to the bleſſings of freedom themſelves, partook by a generous ſympathy in the patriotic ſtruggles of France. The grand and ſublime ſpectacle of twenty-fix millions of our fellow creatures indignantly ſpurning at ſlavery, and obtaining liberty by the exertions of an irrefiſtible and noble enthuſiaſm, not only arreſted the attention of all nations, but ſo deeply intereſted the feelings of the Engliſh public, that in the metropolis, and in different parts of the kingdom, this amazing revolution was celebrated with demonſtrations of joy. The details of theſe tranſactions belong properly to another work, (*Hiſt. of France*, vol. iii. p. 337 and ſeq.) and are only alluded to here, as an introduction to ſome parliamentary occurrences, about to be noticed, and which have an immediate reference to the affairs of France.

1790. The parliament, elected in 1784, met for its laſt ſeſſion on the 21ſt of January 1790. In the ſpeech from the throne, his majeſty ſlightly glanced at the affairs of France, by obſerving, that “the internal ſituation of the different parts of Europe had been productive of events which had engaged his moſt ſerious attention.” Lord Valletort, in moving the addreſs, took occaſion to conſtrast the tranquil and prosperous ſituation of England with the anarchy and licentiousneſs of France, and to ſigmatize the revolution in that country as an event the moſt diſaſtrous and fatal to the intereſts of the French which had ever taken place ſince the foundation of their monarchy. This language was highly applauded by the prerogative phalanx, and was a tolerable indication of the light in which the recent tranſactions in France were viewed by the Britiſh court. The ſubject was reſumed, up-

on the debate which took place relative to the army estimates. On this occasion, Mr. Burke delivered his first philippic against France. He observed, "that France in a political light was to be considered as expunged out of the system of Europe. Whether she would ever appear in it again as a leading power was not easy to determine: but at present he considered France as not politically existing; and most assuredly it would take much time to restore her to her former active existence. The French had shewn themselves the ablest architects of ruin that had hitherto appeared in the world. In one short summer they had completely pulled down their monarchy, their church, their nobility, their law, their army, and their revenue. Were we absolute conquerors, and France to lie prostrate at our feet, we should blush to impose upon them terms so destructive to all their consequence as a nation, as the duration they had imposed upon themselves. In the last age we were in danger of being entangled by the example of France in the net of a relentless despotism, a despotism indeed proudly arrayed in manners, gallantly, splendor, magnificence, and even covered over with the imposing robes of science and literature. Our present danger, from the example of a people whose character knows no medium, is, with regard to government, a danger from licentious violence—a danger of being led from admiration to imitation of the excesses of an unprincipled, plundering, ferocious, bloody, and tyrannical, democracy—of a people whose government is anarchy, and whose religion is atheism. The French nation were very unwise. What they valued themselves upon was, in his opinion, a disgrace to them. They had gloried, and and some people in England had thought fit to take share in that glory, in making a *revolution*. He declared he felt great concern that this strange thing, called a revolution in France, should be compared with the glorious event commonly called the revolution

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in England. In truth, the circumstances of our revolution, as it is called, and that of France, are just the reverse of each other in almost every particular, and in the whole spirit of the transaction. What we did was, in truth and substance, not a revolution made, but prevented. We took solid securities; we settled doubtful questions; we corrected anomalies in our law. In the stable fundamental parts of our constitution we made no revolution;—no, nor any alteration at all. We did not impair the monarchy. The nation kept the same ranks, the same subordinations, the same franchises; the same order in the law, the revenue, and the magistracy; the same lords, the same commons, the same corporations, the same electors. The church was not impaired: her estates, her majesty, her splendour, her orders and gradations, continued the same: she was preserved in her full efficiency, and cleared only of that intolerance which was her weakness and disgrace. Was little done then, because a revolution was not made in her constitution? No—every thing was done; because we commenced with reparation, not with ruin. Instead of lying in a sort of epileptic trance, exposed to the pity or derision of the world for her wild, ridiculous, convulsive movements, the state flourished; Great Britain rose above the standard of her former self. All the energies of the country were awakened, and a new æra of prosperity commenced, which still continues, not only unimpaired, but receiving growth and improvement under the wasting hand of time.”

Mr. Fox, notwithstanding his personal regard and friendship for Mr. Burke, thought it necessary, in justice to the rectitude and dignity of his own character, to declare “his total dissent from opinions so hostile to the general principles of liberty; and which he was grieved to hear from the lips of a man whom he loved and revered—by whose precepts he had been taught, by whose example he had been animated to en-

gage in their defence. He vindicated the conduct of the French army, in refusing to act against their fellow citizens from the aspersions of Mr. Burke, who had charged them with abetting an abominable sedition by mutiny and desertion; declaring that, if he could view a standing military force with less constitutional jealousy than before, it was owing to the noble spirit manifested by the French army; who, on becoming soldiers, had proved that they did not forfeit their character as citizens, and would not act as the mere instruments of a despot. The scenes of bloodshed and cruelty that had been acted in France, no man," said Mr. Fox, "could hear of without lamenting. But, when the grievous tyranny that the people had so long groaned under was considered, the excesses they had committed in their efforts to shake off the yoke could not excite our astonishment so much as our regret. And as to the contrast Mr. Burke had exhibited, respecting the mode in which the two revolutions of England and France were conducted, it must be remembered, that the situations of the two kingdoms was totally different. In France, a new constitution was to be created. In England, it wanted only to be secured. If the fabric of government in England suffered less alteration, it was because it required less alteration. If a general destruction of the ancient constitution had taken place in France, it was because the whole system was radically hostile to liberty, and that every part of it breathed the direful spirit of despotism."

Mr. Sheridan, with still less reserve and attention to personal respect, reprobated the political sentiments which had been advanced by Mr. Burke. "The people of France," said Mr. Sheridan, "it is true, have committed acts of barbarity and bloodshed, which have justly excited indignation and abhorrence. He was as ready as Mr. Burke to detest the cruelties that had been committed; but what was the striking lesson, the

the awful moral, that these outrages taught? A deeper abhorrence of that system of despotic government, which had so deformed and corrupted human nature; of a species of government, that trampled upon the property, the liberty, and lives, of its subjects; that dealt in extortions, dungeons, and torture; and that prepared beforehand a day of sanguinary vengeance, when the irritated populace should possess themselves of power. But, whatever were these outrages, was the national assembly in any respect answerable for them, that assembly which had exerted a firmness and perseverance hitherto unexampled; that had secured the liberty of France, and vindicated the cause of mankind? Were the mad cruelties of a mob an adequate ground for branding the national assembly with the stigma of being a bloody, ferocious, and tyrannical, democracy? It was a libel on that illustrious body thus to describe them. A better constitution than that which actually existed, it is allowed that France had a right to expect. From whom were they to receive it? From the bounty of the monarch at the head of his courtiers? or from the patriotism of Marshal Broglie at the head of the army? From the faint and feeble cries emitted from the dark dungeons of the Bastille? or from the influence and energy of that spirit which laid the Bastille in ashes? The people, unhappily misguided, as they doubtless were, in particular instances, had however acted rightly in their great object. They had placed the supreme authority of the community in those hands by whom alone it could be justly exercised, and had reduced their sovereign to the rank which properly belonged to kings—that of administrator of the laws established by the free consent of the community.”

On the 19th of April, Mr. Pitt presented to the house his annual statement of the national revenue and expenditure. He expressed a peculiar degree of pleasure in being able to announce, that the receipt of the

the exchequer had surpassed that of the year preceding in the sum of half a million; and he rejoiced, that, from the prospect of an uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace, still greater accessions might reasonably be hoped. Before however the public had time to partake of the minister's joy, from the consolatory intimations of national peace and prosperity, he was commissioned to deliver, to the house, (May the 5th) a royal message of a very different import, and which excited inexpressible astonishment, by announcing a state of things which bore the undisguised and dreadful aspect of war.

To elucidate this matter, it is necessary to mention, that the celebrated circumnavigator Cook, in his last voyage of discovery, touching at different ports on the western coast of North America, purchased from the natives a number of valuable furs bearing a high price in the Chinese market. In consequence of its being likely to prove a lucrative branch of commerce, a small association of British merchants, resident in the East Indies, formed the project of opening a trade to this part of the world for the purpose of supplying the Chinese with furs. Accordingly, in the year 1788, a spot of ground was procured from the Indians; and a regular settlement, defended by a slight fortification, established at Nootka Sound, situated about the 50th degree of latitude. This being regarded by the Spaniards as a flagrant encroachment on their exclusive rights of sovereignty, the Princessa, a Spanish frigate, was dispatched by the viceroy of Mexico, and in May 1789 seized upon the fort, and captured the *Iphigenia* and *Argonaut*, two English vessels then trading on the coast. At the same time, the Spanish commandant, hoisting the national standard, declared that the whole line of coast from Cape Horn to the 60th degree of latitude belonged to the King of Spain. This transaction was notified to the court of London so long since as the 10th of February

ary by the Spanish ambassador; and his excellency at the same time requested, "that measures might be taken for preventing his Britannic majesty's subjects from frequenting those coasts, and from carrying on their fisheries in the seas contiguous to the Spanish continent, as derogatory to the incontestible rights of the crown of Spain."

The English minister did not receive this communication in a manner that indicated any disposition to comply with the terms it contained. On the contrary, a demand was immediately advanced on their part, that the vessels seized should be restored and adequate satisfaction granted previous to any other discussion. The claims of Spain, in relation to her rights of dominion and sovereignty in America were doubtless in the highest degree chimerical; and could perhaps only be equalled in extravagance by the claims of Great Britain. By the treaty of 1763, the river Mississippi, flowing in a direct course of fifteen hundred miles, was made the perpetual boundary of the two empires, and the whole country to the west of that vast river was said to belong to his catholic majesty, by just as valid a tenure as the country eastward of the river to the King of England. Exclusive of this recent and decisive line of demarkation, by which the relative and political rights of both nations were clearly ascertained, the Spanish court referred to ancient treaties, by which the rights of the crown of Spain were acknowledged in their full extent by Great Britain. Charles III. King of Spain, died in December 1788, and his son Charles IV. the present sovereign, confiding in the justice of his claims, offered with dignified candour to submit the decision of this question to any one of the kings of Europe, leaving the choice wholly to his Britannic majesty: "It is sufficient" says the Spanish minister, Count Florida Blanca, "for the Spanish monarch, that a crowned head, from full information of the facts, shall decide as he thinks just; adding,

adding, that on a late application to the court of St. Petersburg, in relation to similar encroachments on the part of the Russians, the empress had given the most positive orders that no settlement should be formed on that line of coast." As to the non-occupancy of the particular spot in question by the Spaniards, the court of Madrid justly observed, that such a plea, if admitted, would tend, by the incongruous intermixture of settlements, to the utter annihilation of all definite and permanent boundaries.

The royal message presented a statement of the facts relative to this business, and the house unanimously joined in an address to the king, assuring his majesty of "the determination of his faithful commons to afford his majesty the most zealous and affectionate support, in such measures as may become requisite for maintaining the dignity of his majesty's crown, and the essential interests of his dominions." A vote of credit passed the house for the sum of one million, and vigorous military and naval preparations were made in both kingdoms, in the contemplation of an immediate declaration of war. It must be acknowledged that the hostile procedure of Spain, had reduced the English ministry to a difficult dilemma. The value of the settlement at Nootka, in a commercial and national view, was beneath all calculation of insignificance; and it argued culpable inattention in the British ministers not to have been better and earlier apprised of the extent of the real or imaginary rights of Spain, whose jealousy at the slightest infringement upon those rights was sufficiently notorious. A moment's reflection must have sufficiently evinced, that a British settlement on the coast of California would be eventually productive of a serious contention with the court of Madrid: and a small degree of discretion might have sufficed to obviate this ground of national quarrel.

Spain, however, sensible of her inability to contend alone

alone with England, had, in an early stage of the negotiation, applied to the court of France, to know how far she could depend upon the fulfilment of the conditions of the family compact, in case of a rupture with Great Britain. The Spanish memorial upon this subject was, by order of the king, laid before the national assembly, and gave rise to a very interesting report from the diplomatic committee, presented by the Count de Mirabeau. But, although the national assembly voted an immediate augmentation of the naval force, the court of Madrid plainly perceived the reluctance of the French nation to engage in a war with England, and, yielding therefore to necessity, complied first with the harsh demand of previous restitution and indemnification, and at length, on the 2d of October 1790, a convention was signed at the Escorial, by which every point in dispute was conceded by Spain. By this convention the restoration of the buildings and vessels, and the reparation of the losses sustained by British subjects, were secured; the right of navigation and fishery was equally conceded to both nations; illicit commerce with the Spanish settlements prohibited; and the British fishing vessels or others were restricted to ten leagues distance from the Spanish coast, unaccompanied however by any formal renunciation of sovereignty on the part of Spain. And the two powers were, on the other hand, equally restrained from attempting any settlement nearer to Cape Horn than the most southerly of the settlements actually formed by Spain. Thus ended a dispute, frivolous indeed in its origin, but which seemed in its progress to threaten very serious consequences, and which cost Great Britain the sum of three millions in warlike preparations.

But, though Great Britain was thus happily rescued from the horrors of war in this quarter of the globe, accident or ambition had at the same time involved our Indian possessions in a state of hostility and blood. The usurpation of Hyder Ali, and the military prow-

ess of his son and successor Tippoo Sultan, are facts already too fully stated to require any repetition. Of all the native princes of India, Tippoo was the most formidable to the British government, and the most active to disturb its authority, and counteract its interests. The peace of Mangalore, in 1784, had, it was supposed, secured his fidelity by very feeble ties; and the splendid embassy which soon after that event he dispatched to France, afforded just reason to suspect that some plan was concerted between the old French government and the tyrant of Mysore, for the annoyance of the British settlements in India: but this plan was happily defeated by the same cause which prevented a war with Spain—the French revolution. The increasing power of Tippoo was not less formidable to the Dutch than to the English; and the vicinity of Cochin, their most flourishing settlement on the continent of India, to the territories of that restless despot, filled them with alarming apprehensions for its safety. But the Dutch, fully sensible of the perilous situation of Cochin, had got possession of two other forts, situated between that place and Mysore, to protect their favorite settlement. One of these forts, called Cranganore, was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch, who retained quiet possession of it till some time in the year 1779, when it was conquered by Hyder Ali and garrisoned. When the war, however, broke out in 1780, between Hyder and the English, he was obliged to evacuate his garrisons on the Malabar coast, to employ his force in the Carnatic; and Holland and France soon after uniting with him against England, the Dutch availed themselves of Hyder's troubles, to seize clandestinely the fort. Hyder was highly offended at the liberty taken by his good ally, and complained loudly of the transaction; but by the mediation of the French, a compromise took place between the parties, and the matter was settled. The forts of Cranganore and

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Acottah were, however, still objects of Tippoo's ambition; and, notwithstanding his father had ceded the former by agreement to the Dutch, he marched a formidable force in June 1789, towards Cranganore, with an avowed design of dispossessing the Dutch, and asserting a claim of right, founded on the transactions just related. Unable to retain the forts, and apprehensive for the fate of Cochin itself, the Dutch readily entered into a negociation with the rajah of Travancore for the purchase of them. Tippoo, on being informed of this circumstance, offered a larger sum than the rajah; but, as the latter was the ally of Great Britain, who was consequently bound by treaty to assist him, that politic people plainly perceived, that by placing them in his hands, they erected a most powerful barrier against the encroachments of a turbulent and ambitious neighbour. The imprudence of the rajah, in entering upon such a purchase while the title was disputed, drew down upon him the heaviest censures from the government of Madras; and he was repeatedly cautioned by Sir Archibald Campbell and Mr. Holland his successor, not to proceed in the negociation. Such, however, was the ardor and temerity of the rajah in making this acquisition, that he not only concluded the purchase with the Dutch, but even treated with the rajah of Cochin, without the privity of Tippoo, to whom the latter was an acknowledged tributary. The bargain was concluded in July 1789, though it was not till the 4th of August that the rajah informed the Madras government, through their resident Mr. Powney, that he was on the point of making the purchase.

It was not to be expected that Tippoo would remain an idle spectator of these transactions. He insisted on the claim which he retained over these forts, on the ground of their being conquered by his father; and, in consequence of the subsequent compromise, he asserted, and with some plausibility, that, in virtue of

the feudal laws, no transfer of them could be made without his consent as sovereign of Mysore; and he also alleged, as a further cause of complaint against the rajah, that he had given protection to a number of his rebel subjects. Accordingly, on the 29th of December, Tippoo made a direct attack upon the lines of Travancore; but, receiving a remonstrance from the British government of Fort St. George, he desisted from farther hostilities, and even apologized for his recent conduct, affirming, "that the attack was occasioned by the rajah's people having first fired on his troops; that, notwithstanding this, he immediately ordered his troops to discontinue the attack, and sent back the people whom they had captured."

From the 29th of December 1781, to the 1st of March 1790, Tippoo Sultan remained perfectly quiet, still, however, asserting his claims to the feudal sovereignty of the forts, but at the same time offering to submit the object in dispute to the decision of any impartial arbitration. The rajah, who appears all along confident of being supported by the British arms, ventured on the 1st of March to make an offensive attack on Tippoo's lines. For this extraordinary step, the rajah alleged in excuse the hostile preparations of Tippoo in the erection of batteries, &c. &c. An engagement took place; and, war being thus commenced, the British government conceived themselves bound to take an active part in favour of the rajah their ally. Though the justice of the war may be fairly questioned, yet as the favourite object of the English had long been the humbling of Tippoo, it must be confessed there was at least much policy in selecting the present period for the accomplishment of such a purpose. With all the other native powers of India we were not only at peace, but treaties of alliance existed between Great Britain and the two most powerful states in that quarter, the Nizam and the Mahrattas, both of whom declared themselves in perfect readiness

diness to exert their utmost force to crush the rising power of Myfore. Unfortunately for Tippoo, while he was thus exposed to the vengeance of a powerful confederacy, the distracted state of France cut off all hopes of assistance from his once great and formidable ally. Such was the situation of affairs in the east, previous to the meeting of parliament, and such were the facts which appeared of sufficient importance to induce the ministry of Great Britain to involve the nation in the expences and calamities of war.

A newly-elected parliament assembled on the 25th of November, 1790. In the speech from the throne his majesty signified "his satisfaction that the differences with Spain were brought to an amicable termination." He observed, "that since the last session of parliament a foundation had been laid for a pacification between Austria and the Porte—that a separate peace had actually taken place between Russia and Sweden; but, that the war between Russia and the Porte still continued. The principles on which I have hitherto acted," said his majesty, "will make me always desirous of employing the weight and influence of this country in contributing to the restoration of general tranquillity. He observed with concern the war in India, occasioned," he said, "by an unprovoked attack on an ally of the British nation; but which, from the state of our forces in India, and the confidence which the native powers had in the British name, there was a favourable prospect of bringing to a speedy and successful conclusion."

On the 15th of December, Mr. Pitt, after indulging in a flow of introductory eloquence, stated the amount of the expences incurred by the late armament against Spain; and proposed various temporary taxes, which would discharge the incumbrance in four years—with the assistance of 500,000*l.* which he had it in contemplation to take from the *unclaimed dividends* lying in the bank of England, the amount
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of which he estimated at 660,000*l*. This latter proposition excited alarm in all the great chartered companies, and in the commercial and mercantile world in general. It was urged, "that under the term *unclaimed dividends* is indeed veiled a gross fallacy. Exclusive of the dividends of the last three years, which are not properly *unclaimed* but merely *unreceived* dividends, the balance amounts scarcely to a fifth part of the sum which the minister proposes to seize. If the recent and fluctuating balances of the bank are thus liable to seizures, the minister may one day order the money to be paid into the bank, and the next he may without any violation of public faith command it to be repaid into the exchequer." This was a bold and daring attempt of the minister, but he soon found that it was one of those measures to which the usual complaisance of the house would not be extended, and therefore he consented, by way of compromise, to accept of a *loan* of 500,000*l*. from the bank *without interest*, so long as a floating balance to that amount should remain in the hands of the cashier.

A subject of considerable importance came next under the cognizance of parliament. The question in debate was, in substance, whether a prosecution by impeachment of the commons, does, or does not, abate by the dissolution of parliament? Mr. Burke introduced the discussion on the 17th of December, by moving, "that the house do resolve itself into a committee, to take into consideration the state of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Esq." This, after some opposition, being carried, he made a second motion, "that an impeachment by this house in the name of the commons of Great Britain, against Warren Hastings, Esq. for high crimes and misdemeanors, is still pending." The negative of this proposition was supported by the entire body of lawyers in the house almost without an exception. Mr. Erskine, who

who had been long and justly distinguished as a zealous friend to the constitution and liberties of his country, endeavoured on this occasion to shew, that in consequence of the dissolution of parliament, the impeachment had abated; and in this opinion he was warmly seconded by all the crown lawyers. Upon this great question, in the decision of which the honour, the dignity, and the authority, of the house were so deeply involved, the Speaker with peculiar propriety rose and delivered his opinion. "If," said he, "the maxim laid down by the lawyers were admitted to be just, the consequence was obvious. The impeachment of a profligate or corrupt minister might, by the insidious intervention of the prerogative, at any time be rendered nugatory and abortive. In the view of the constitution, and even by the forms of parliament, the impeachment is preferred not by the house of commons merely, but by all the commons of England; and the house can be considered, in relation to the prosecution, as no more than the agents and attorneys of the people at large. A second house of commons, therefore, though certainly possessing a discretionary power of dropping the prosecution, if upon due consideration they are of opinion it does not rest upon a just foundation, are as certainly at full liberty to proceed in it, if in their judgment conducive to the safety or interests of the state." This opinion prevailed, and the trial went on.

The rights of juries had long been in an indefinite and indeterminate state, particularly in the case of libels; and, disputes disgraceful in themselves, and injurious to the administration of justice, had frequently arisen between the court and the jury, between the judges and the counsel. Mr. Fox, ever active in the defence of popular rights, moved for a bill to ascertain the authority of juries in the matter of libel. With respect to the pretended distinction between law and fact, Mr. Fox observed, that when a
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man was accused of murder, a crime consisting of law and fact, the jury every day found a verdict of guilty: and this was also the case in felony and every other criminal indictment. Libels were the only exception, the single anomaly. He contended, that, if the jury had no jurisdiction over libels, the counsel who addressed them on either side, as to the criminality of the publication, were guilty of a gross and insolent sarcasm. Mr. Fox put this matter in a strong point of view, by adverting to the law of treason. It was admitted on all hands, that a writing might be an overt act of treason. In this case, if the court of king's bench were to say to the jury, "Consider only whether the criminal published the paper—do not consider the nature of it—do not consider whether it correspond to the definition of treason or not;"—would Englishmen endure that death should be inflicted without a jury having had an opportunity of delivering their sentiments whether the individual was or was not guilty of the *crime* with which he was charged? Having shewn that the law of libels was contrary to the original principles of law, Mr. Fox said, that if the committee were clear as to this point, their wisest and most proper measure would be to enact a declaratory law respecting it: but, if they were of opinion that high authorities on the other side made the law doubtful, they might settle the law for the future without any reference to what it had been in times past. Mr. Pitt agreed with the principles stated by Mr. Fox, but instead of a committee of justice, recommended the bringing in a bill "to remove all doubts respecting the rights and functions of juries in criminal cases." The bill was accordingly introduced, and passed the commons, but on its transmission to the house of lords, it was opposed on the second reading by the lord chancellor, on pretence of its being too late in the session to discuss a measure of such importance. The principle of the bill was ably defend-
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ed by the law-lords Camden and Loughborough, with whom Lord Grenville concurred. The bill was postponed for the present; but, in the next session, 1792, it was carried through both houses, and passed into a law, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the law-Lords, Thurlow, Kenyon, and Bathurst. The Marquis of Lansdowne was pointedly severe upon the judges. He said, "that the act which declared the judges independent of the crown, would, in fact, be found to render them totally independent of the people, and more than ever dependent on the crown. Before the revolution, the judges took no part in politics, or in the debates of that house; now they were of great weight in every discussion, and occupied so much of the time, that noble lords could hardly obtain an opportunity of speaking. For what they knew, they might have a chief justice at the head of a party in that house, going down reeking with party-rage to preside on a trial for a libel published against himself by some political adversary. For his own part, his lordship declared, he could not frame to his mind a case in which juries did not appear as fully competent to decide conscientiously on the law and the fact blended, as the twelve judges. He did not blame the lawyers for making a stand against the present bill. It was well worth a struggle on the part of the profession. It was a proud ambitious profession, desirous of obtaining power over all. And if the noble lord at the head of the king's bench could overthrow it, as his lordship had studied politics as well as law, he would reign lord paramount of England." The law-lords joined in a protest against the bill.

The evidence on the slave-trade being at length closed, Mr. Wilberforce, on the 18th of April, 1791, brought forward his long expected motion of abolition, which he introduced with a copious and convincing display of the arguments in favour of that measure. The crimes and villanies to which this horrid traffic

had given rise, were detailed with a minuteness which placed not merely the persons actually concerned, but human nature itself, in a light the most degrading and detestable. The mover, with all the eloquence of feeling and of truth, asserted that the history of this commerce was written in characters of blood. "Let us," said he, "turn our eyes for relief from this disgraceful scene to some ordinary wickedness. The steps taken by parliament in this business had by no means," he said, "bettered the condition of the wretched Africans, when on-board our ships: for, even in the year 1788, when the friends of humanity were agitating the subject within those walls, all the misery, all the compulsion, all the despair, all the insanity, which on a former occasion he had brought into their view, were actually going forward in the slave ships; and it appeared upon the evidence, that several of these wretches voluntarily threw themselves into the sea, and before they expired, shewed signs of exultation that they had escaped. A vessel of 120 tons, commanded by Captain Knox, carried two hundred and ninety slaves, and forty-three other persons: the slaves had not room to lie on their backs, and yet Captain Knox had declared, 'they slept tolerably comfortable!' Another vessel of 108 tons carried four hundred and fifty slaves; and a third, of 150 tons, six hundred. It was scarcely possible to conceive the sufferings of those unhappy beings thus crowded together, and parched by the sultry heat of a burning sun: indeed the whole formed a scene of wretchedness and depravity, from the contemplation of which the mind turned with disgust and horror. Mr. Wilberforce also produced instances to shew that the slaves in the islands were not under the protection of law. Colonial statutes," he said, "had indeed been passed, but they were a mere dead letter; since, however ill treated, the slaves had seldom been considered as having any right to redress. An instance of astonishing cruelty appeared

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appeared in the testimony of Mr. Ross, as committed by a Jew; but, though a matter of notoriety, it does not seem to have entered into the contemplation of any person to call him to a legal account. Some instances had indeed occurred *very lately*, of convictions; one of which was, for a master having cut the mouth of a child from ear to ear; when the verdict of the jury evinced, that the doctrine of calling masters to account was entirely novel, as it only pronounced him 'guilty—subject to the opinion of the court, if immoderate correction of a slave by his master be a crime indictable.' The court determined in the affirmative; and for this inhuman act of cruelty, the monster of a master was fined 25s. With respect to the character of the Africans, many creditable witnesses, he observed, had spoken highly of their ingenuity, tractability, cheerfulness, hospitality, and every quality that evinced them to be fitted for civilized life. To suppose them an inferior species, and the peculiar objects of the divine vengeance, he termed a gross and impious blasphemy. Whatever might be the fate of his motion, he had endeavoured," he said, "to discharge his duty, and he was perfectly satisfied of one thing, *that the public had already abolished the slave trade.*" He concluded with moving "for a bill to prevent the farther importation of African negroes into the British colonies;" which after a long and animated debate, was negatived by a majority of seventy-five voices.

To qualify in some measure the rejection of this motion, a bill was introduced by Mr. Thornton, and passed, for chartering a company to make an establishment at Sierra Leona on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of cultivating West-Indian and other tropical products by the use of free negroes. This experiment has, by inspiring confidence in the English name, opened a more unreserved intercourse with the natives; and every friend to humanity must wish it success.

The only remaining transaction which fell under the

notice of parliament this session was the business of our interference between the Porte and Russia in favour of the former power. The just grounds of the quarrel can only be understood by adverting to the actual situation of affairs on the continent. Leopold king of Hungary had no sooner assumed the Austrian sceptre, than he resolved on terminating the war with Turkey; and, under the powerful mediation of England and Prussia, a convention was concluded, August 1790, at Reichenbach, after a negotiation of some months, protracted in the unavailing hope of retaining possession of the important fortrefs of Belgrade, which, fifty years before, England had exerted her utmost influence to secure to the house of Austria; but now, swayed by Prussian counsels, solicitous to advance the interests of that power, in contra distinction to those of Austria, the ancient and genuine ally of Britain, she insisted on its restitution, in common with all the other Austrian conquests, to the Ottoman Porte. In return, the Austrian Netherlands were guaranteed to the house of Austria, and the possession of the imperial crown eventually ensued to his Hungarian majesty. The Flemings refusing, notwithstanding their distressful condition, to return to the Austrian dominion, a great military force was sent into the country in the autumn of 1790, under the command of Marshal Bender, which quickly effected their total reduction. Sweden also, disappointed in her views and projects of ambition, thought proper to sign a separate peace with Russia, August, 1790, on the basis of the former treaties of Abo and Nyttadt. The courts of London and Berlin, elated with the success of their mediation at Reichenbach, now in high and arrogant language signified to the Empress of Russia their pleasure, that peace should be restored between the Ottoman and Russian empires, on the terms of a general restitution of conquests. The empress replied with equal haughtiness, "that she would make peace and war

war with whom she pleased, without the intervention of any foreign power." Not however choosing too far to provoke the resentment of these formidable and self-created arbitrators, she secretly intimated her willingness to conclude a peace with Turkey, on the condition of retaining the country eastward to the Neister, as a reasonable indemnification for the expences of the war. This was a waste and desert tract of territory, valuable only for the security it afforded to her former acquisitions, and for including within its limits the strong and important fortress of Oczakow. This being peremptorily refused, the conference broke off, and the empress determined to support her claims by the sword.

Mr. Pitt therefore, on the 28th of March, 1791, delivered a message to the house of commons from his majesty, importing, "that the endeavours which he had used in conjunction with his allies to effect a pacification not having proved successful, his majesty judged it requisite, in order to add weight to his representations, to make some further augmentation of his naval force." This message being taken into consideration, Mr. Pitt enlarged much on the necessity of attending to the preservation of the balance of power in Europe. "The influence of the Turkish empire, he said, was of great effect in the general scale. Its present situation was such as to afford just cause of apprehension to other powers; and to Prussia in particular it must be highly injurious, to suffer the Turkish empire to be diminished in force and consequence. He therefore moved an address, assuring his majesty that his *faithful commons* would make good such expences as may be found necessary."

The prospect of a war with Russia on these frivolous grounds, astonished every thinking individual, alarmed the public, and was opposed in the house with the whole strength and talents of opposition. Mr. Fox said, "the right honourable mover of the address had
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enveloped himself in mystery and importance, but explained nothing. When the balance of power was mentioned as a reason for arming, it ought to be shewn how it was endangered. We had no quarrel with the empress of Russia: we had no alliance with Turkey. But by the absurd pride of interfering in the affairs of every sovereign state, we involved ourselves in continual expence, and were exposed to the perpetual hazard of war. It was to second the ambitious policy of Prussia, and not for any interests of our own, that we were now called upon to arm. The czarina, it was well known, had offered to give up all her conquests but a barren district, unprofitable and worthless, except for a single place contained in it, which place was Oczakow. But would any one seriously pretend that the balance of Europe depended on the trivial circumstance, whether Oczakow should in future belong to the empire of Russia or of Turkey? That this was even with ministers themselves, a novel idea, was plain; for Oczakow had been taken in 1788, and in 1789 his majesty had assured the parliament and the nation, that the situation of affairs was such as promised us a continuance of peace." The question was however carried in favour of the address by 228 to 135 voices.

It has been said, and with great truth, that this decision of itself was sufficient to demonstrate the necessity of a parliamentary reform: for when the representatives voted for a Russian war, they were so far from speaking the sentiments of the nation, that the people every where execrated the measure. And to enter into a war in defiance of the opinion of the public was an undertaking which the minister, with his acknowledged courage, did not choose to attempt; and therefore, after all the bustling, threatening, and dreadful preparation, the point in dispute was suddenly and wisely given up, and Oczakow remained in the possession of Russia. The session of parliament terminated June the 10th, 1791, his majesty expressed
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his perfect satisfaction at the zeal with which the two houses had applied themselves to the consideration of the different objects which he had recommended to their attention.

Soon after the rising of parliament, the nation was disgraced by a wanton and unprovoked series of tumults and outrages, which, for the space of four days, spread terror and alarm through the populous town of Birmingham and the adjacent country. It has been already seen that a difference of sentiment on the character of the French revolution gave rise to a heated and violent discussion in parliament,—ill according with the dignity of a legislative assembly. But this cause of discord was not confined to the higher orders of society: it also pervaded the inferior classes; and considerable pains were taken by ministerial journalists to inflame the passions of the populace against the asserters of Gallic liberty. On the other hand, the whig party and the friends of freedom in Great Britain rejoiced in the emancipation of a neighbouring nation, and flattered themselves that they saw in the success of the French revolution, not only the annihilation of despotism in that country, but the commencement of a new system of politics in Europe, the basis of which was peace, happiness, and mutual concord.

In most of the larger towns of Great Britain, associations were formed for the celebration of the French revolution on the 14th of July: but the opposite party were not indifferent spectators of these proceedings: the most scandalous and inflammatory insinuations were conveyed in newspapers and pamphlets, stigmatizing the friends of freedom as determined republicans, and representing the act of joining in a convivial meeting on the odious 14th of July, as an attempt to overturn the British constitution in church and state.

A few days previous to the meeting in commemoration of the French revolution at Birmingham, six copies of the most inflammatory and seditious handbills, proposing

proposing the French revolution as a model to the English, and exciting them to rebellion, were left in a public-house by some person unknown. As the contents of this handbill found a quick and general circulation, they occasioned a ferment in the town. The magistrates offered a reward of one hundred guineas for discovering the author, printer, or publisher, of the obnoxious paper; and the friends of the meeting intended for the 14th, published at the same time an advertisement explicitly denying the sentiments and doctrines of the seditious handbill, and disavowing all connexion with its author or publisher. The views and intentions of the meeting having, however, been grossly misrepresented, and the gentlemen concerned suspecting the seditious handbill to be an artifice projected by their adversaries, thought it most adviseable to relinquish the scheme; and accordingly notice was given to that effect: but, at the pressing instance of several persons dissatisfied with this determination, the intention was revived, and the company met at the appointed time to the number of between eighty and ninety. The ingenious Mr. Ker, well known for his great attainments in chemistry and other branches of philosophy, and a member of the established church, was placed in the chair. The gentlemen had scarcely met before the house was surrounded by a tumultuous crowd, who testified their disapprobation by hisses and groans, and by the shout of Church and King, which became the watch-word on this occasion. At five o'clock the company dispersed, and soon afterwards the windows in the front of the hotel were demolished, and the house otherwise injured; and notwithstanding the appearance of the magistrates, the mob forcibly entered and searched the house in quest of the guelts, but fortunately found none of them remaining.

Dr. Priestley did not attend the festival, but dined at home at Fairhill with a friend from London. After supper, they were alarmed with the intelligence, that

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the mob were assembled at the new dissenting meeting-house belonging to the doctor. The rioters soon set the meeting on fire, and never left it till nothing remained that could be consumed. They attacked afterwards his old meeting-house, but finding from its situation it would be dangerous to the neighbourhood to set it on fire, they adopted another plan, and took out the pulpit, pews, &c. and burnt the whole in an adjoining burying-ground. About half past nine o'clock at night, Mr. Ryland, one of Dr. Priestley's congregation, came with a chaise to Fairhill, and informed the family they must lose no time in effecting their escape. With nothing more than the clothes which they had on, the doctor and his family got into the chaise, and proceeded a mile further to Mr. Ruffel's; but here they were informed, that the mob had nearly destroyed Dr. Priestley's house, and would immediately proceed to that in which they then were. They therefore got into the chaise a second time, and drove to Mr. Hawkes's, half a mile further from the town. From this station they could distinctly hear every shout of the mob, and the blows of the instruments which were employed to break down the doors. The whole of the doctor's library, his valuable philosophical apparatus, his manuscripts and papers, were entirely and completely destroyed.

The day broke on the succeeding morning only to discover the ruins which this insatuated multitude had made, and to enable them to continue their depredations. The next object of their vengeance was Mr. Ryland, the friend of Dr. Priestley just mentioned, whose elegant mansion at Easy-hill they quickly demolished.—Here, as they found a profusion of liquor, a shocking scene of intoxication ensued, and several of the wretched rioters perished in the cellars by suffocation, or by the falling in of the roof. Six, terribly bruised, were dug out of the ruins, and carried to the hospital; ten dead bodies were found; and one man

remained for three days in one of the vaults, and then worked his way out with but little injury. It was in vain that the magistrates swore in an additional number of constables; the mob had by this time collected such strength, as baffled all attempts of the civil power to disperse them, and the constables, after supporting a severe conflict, in which many of them were wounded, were compelled to retire.

Bordesly-hall, the country residence of John Taylor, Esq. an eminent banker, was soon after assailed. The greater part of the furniture was plundered and carried away, and the house and out offices set on fire. Several farm-houses also belonging to Mr. Taylor were burnt. On the same evening (being Friday) the house of Mr. Hutton, the ingenious historian of Birmingham, was completely stripped. His books and papers were all destroyed.

On the Saturday morning they made another attack on Mr. Humphrey's elegant house at Spark-brook. They were at first repulsed, and one man was killed. In a second attack they were more successful, and stripped the house of the whole of its furniture. Mr. Ruffel's house at Showell-green was entirely consumed. Mr. Harwood's, and that of Mr. Hobson, a dissenting minister, shared the same fate. The building of Mosely-hill, the residence of Lady-dowager Carhampton, but the property of Mr. Taylor, was completely demolished. Notice was given to Lady Carhampton on the preceding day to remove her effects, as no part of their vengeance was directed against her, with which notice she prudently complied. The house of Mr. Hawkes of Mosleywake-green was on the same day stripped entirely of the furniture.

The following morning the rioters proceeded to Kingswood, seven miles distant. In their way they committed numerous outrages, extorting money and liquor wherever they came. At Kingswood they burnt the dissenting meeting-house of the minister, and
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Engraved by T. Poff.

His ROYAL HIGHNESS the
DUKE of YORK

Commander in Chief

of the British and Hanoverian Troops.

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a little after the house, &c. of Mr. Cox, farmer at Woodstock. In short, they were now so highly flushed with success, that they threatened the entire extirpation of the dissenters from that part of the country. Their authority and power were not, however, destined to be of long duration. The town of Birmingham was relieved from their depredations on the Sunday evening, by the arrival of three troops of light dragoons, which on the following morning were reinforced by three troops of dragoons, under Colonel de Lancey. During this time the mob was parading about the country, but its movements were now too rapid and uncertain to effect any formidable depredation. On Tuesday some reports were received of parties of rioters being seen near Hagley, Hales Owen, &c. and towards evening intelligence arrived of their attacking Mr. Male's at Belle-vue. A party of light dragoons was immediately dispatched in pursuit of them; but the rioters were overpowered by the country people before the arrival of the soldiers, and ten of them confined at Hales Owen. The Wednesday was employed by the light horse in scouring the country ten miles round Birmingham, and on Thursday the mob was thoroughly dispersed, and peace and order completely re established. Of the unfortunate and infatuated prisoners, who were taken in the act of rioting, seventeen were tried, and five found guilty; one of whom was reprieved, and four executed.

The parliament was not convened till the 31st of January 1792. The king announced in his speech "the marriage of his son the Duke of York with the Princess Frederica, daughter of his good brother and ally the King of Prussia. He informed the two houses, that a treaty had been concluded, under his meditation and that of his allies, between the Emperor of Germany and the Ottoman Porte, and that, in consequence of their intervention, preliminaries had been agreed upon between the latter of those powers and Russia. He lamented that he was not enabled to in-

form them of the termination of the Indian war, but hoped, from the success which had already attended the bravery of the troops under Lord Cornwallis, that it would soon be brought to an honourable conclusion. The general state of affairs in Europe promised a continuance of peace, and he was induced to hope for an immediate reduction of the naval and military establishments."

Mr. Pitt called the attention of the house to the flourishing condition of the commerce and finances of the nation; and, in the course of a most eloquent and animated speech, delineated a picture of national prosperity more flattering than even the most glowing imagination had ventured to suggest: "The amount of the permanent revenue, with the land and malt duties annexed, from January 1791 to January 1792, he estimated at 16,730,000*l.* being 300,000*l.* more than the aggregate of the preceding year. The permanent expenditure, including the interest of the debt, the annual million applied towards its extinction, the civil list, and the military and naval establishments, he calculated at 15,810,000*l.* leaving a clear surplus of more than 900,000*l.* In this state of things he thought himself authorized to propose a repeal of a part of the more burthen some taxes, to the amount of 200,000*l.* per annum; and at the same time apply the sum of 400,000*l.* to the reduction of the national debt, in aid of the annual million appropriated by parliament. After sporting his fancy, in developing the hidden and fruitful springs of returning prosperity, the minister concluded with the following memorable words: "From the result of the whole I trust I am entitled to infer, that the scene which we are now contemplating is not the transient effect of accident, not the short-lived prosperity of a day, but the genuine and natural result of regular and permanent causes. The season of our severe trial is at an end; and we are at length relieved, not only from the dejection and gloom which a few years since hung over the

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the country, but from the doubt and uncertainty which, even for a considerable time after our prospect had begun to brighten, still mingled with the hopes and expectations of the public. We may yet indeed be subject to those fluctuations which often happen in the affairs of a great nation, and which it is impossible to calculate or foresee; but as far as there can be reliance on human speculations, we have the best ground from the experience of the past to look with satisfaction to the present, and with confidence to the future." Such were the brilliant hopes which in this moment of ministerial exultation the people were taught to indulge, and with such dazzling but deceptive splendor rose the morn of a year destined to set in darkness, calamity, and blood.

Mr. Pitt, on the 17th of February, presented a copy of the treaty between his majesty and the King of Prussia on the marriage of his royal highness the Duke York with the Princess Frederica Charlotte Ulrique Catharine of Prussia. The substance of which was, that the King of Prussia gives to the princess his daughter 100,000 crowns, viz. 40,000 as a portion, and 60,000 as paraphernalia; and in case the princess dies before her husband, both these sums are to revert to the King of Prussia and his successors. Their royal highnesses, and the King of Great Britain, as well in his own name, as for his son the Duke of York, renounce for ever all right of inheritance to the crown and dominions of Prussia. The Duke of York makes a present to her royal highness of 6,000*l.* on the day of marriage, with interest from September 1791. The Duke of York agrees to pay to her royal highness, for pin-money, the sum of 4,000*l.* per annum, of which her royal highness is to have the sole disposal. The King of Britain pays a counter-portion of 100,000 crowns, and engages that in case of the death of his royal highness, the annual sum of 8,000*l.* with a suitable residence and suitable establishment, shall be provided for the princess.

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On the 2d of April, the house resolved itself into a committee to consider of the state of the African slave trade. From the decision on Mr. Wilberforce's motion last session, it appeared that the enthusiasm of parliament for the abolition had greatly abated; while on the other hand that of the public in general had increased. The table of the house of commons was now covered with petitions from all parts of the kingdom, imploring in earnest language the abolition of that infamous and inhuman traffic. Mr. Wilberforce declared, "That from his exertions in this cause he had found happiness, though not hitherto success. It enlivened his waking and soothed his evening hours, and he could not recollect without singular satisfaction, that he had demanded justice for millions who could not ask it for themselves." He concluded an able and eloquent speech, by moving the question of abolition. Mr. Wilberforce was powerfully supported by many of the most respectable members of the house, amongst whom Mr. Whitbread particularly distinguished himself by the energy and animation of his remarks. "It was the necessary quality of despotism," he said, "to corrupt and vitiate the heart: and the moral evils of this system were still more to be dreaded than the political. But no mildness in practice could make that to be right which was fundamentally wrong. Nothing could make him give his assent to the original sin of delivering man over to the despotism of man. It was too degrading to see, not the produce of human labour, but man himself, made the object of trade. He observed, that a fatality attended the arguments of those who defended this detestable and shocking trade. In an account of selling the stock of a plantation, one of the evidences in favour of the slave merchants said, 'that the slaves fetched less than the common price, *because they were damaged.*' Damaged!" exclaimed Mr. Whitbread, "what is this, but an acknowledgment that they were worn down by labour,

bour, sickness, by every species of ill treatment; and that instead of receiving the indulgence their situation requires, they are to be worked to death, transferred from one task-master to another, the latter perhaps more inhuman than the former! A trade attended with such dreadful evils ought not to be thought of—cannot be mentioned without horror, nor continued without violating every moral and religious obligation.”

In consequence of the ardour displayed by the nation at large in this business, it was at length determined to concede, what was now become difficult, perhaps dangerous to withhold. Mr. Dundas, advanced to the dignity of secretary of state by the resignation of the Duke of Leeds, and the organ of the interior cabinet in the house of commons, now recommended to the house, in a very plausible speech, the adoption of a middle and moderate plan, such as would reconcile the interests of the West-India islands with the eventual abolition of the trade; and concluded by moving “That the word *gradual* might be inserted before *abolition*.” Mr. Pitt, who had done himself honour by his uniform and vigorous opposition to the slave-trade, in conformity with his past sentiments, now declared his decided disapprobation of the amendment; and in a speech fraught with argument and eloquence, conjured the house not to postpone even for an hour the great and necessary work of abolition. “Reflect,” said Mr. Pitt, “on the eighty thousand persons annually torn from their native land! on the connections which are broken! on the friendships, attachments, and relationships, that are burst asunder! there is something in the horror of it that surpasses all the bounds of imagination. How shall we repair the mischiefs we have brought upon that continent? If, knowing the miseries we have caused, we refuse even now to put a stop to them, how greatly aggravated will be the guilt of Britain! Shall we not rather count the days and hours that are suffered to intervene,

intervene, than to delay the accomplishment of such a work? I trust we shall not think ourselves too liberal, if we give to Africa the common chance of civilization with the rest of the world. If we listen to the voice of reason and duty, and pursue this night the line of conduct which they prescribe, some of us may live to see the reverse of that picture from which we now turn our eyes with shame and regret. We may live to behold the natives of Africa engaged in the calm occupations of industry, in the pursuits of a just and legitimate commerce. We may behold the beams of science and philosophy breaking in upon their land, which at some happy period in still later times, may blaze with full lustre; and, joining their influence to that of pure religion, may illuminate and invigorate the most distant extremities of that immense continent. Then may we hope, that even Africa, though last of all the quarters of the globe, shall enjoy at length, in the evening of her days, those blessings which have descended so plentifully upon us in a much earlier period of the world.

Mr. Fox supported the same side, with a force of argument and energy of expression, equally impressive and convincing: "The gentleman who proposed the amendment called himself," Mr. Fox said, "a moderate man; but he neither felt, nor wished to feel, any thing like moderation on the subject. The question before the house was simply this; Whether they should authorize by law the commission of crimes in Africa, which in this country would incur the severest penalties, and even an ignominious death? Regulations, in this case, would be as disgraceful as they would be impotent. One gentleman had proposed a premium for the transportation of females. What!" exclaimed Mr. Fox, "is the kidnapper then to be encouraged by the British legislature to lay a snare for the harmless maid—to snatch her from the arms of her lover or her parents—or to separate the wife from her husband and children? He should like," he said, "to see the clause

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by which this inhuman measure was to be presented to the parliament of England; he should like to see the man capable of conceiving words to frame such a clause—was there a gentleman in the house bold enough to support it? Last session," said Mr. Fox, "we were cajoled and taught to believe that something would be early brought forward. Have we not passed a year, and nothing has been done? Are we still to be deluded and betrayed? Why was not the system of moderation proposed then? Why were we not then entertained with this *mild* and *middle* course called a *gradual abolition*." To enforce the necessity of an immediate abolition, Mr. Fox proceeded to a statement of facts. "A black trader," he said, "brought a girl to a slave ship for sale: some person afterwards went on-board and discovered who the trader was that sold her, and went and brought him to the ship and sold him for a slave. 'What, said the trader, 'do you buy me, grand trader?' 'Yes,' replied the captain, 'I will buy you or any one else if offered for sale.' On the first view of this fact it appears a piece of barefaced villany; but on examining the subject it is evidently a necessary consequence flowing from the very nature of the trade. How could the captain know or decide who was the real owner of the girl? As had only given in that instance the same answer that he must give in every other: 'I know not who has a right to sell, it is no affair of mine; if any one offers me a slave, my rule is to buy him and ask no questions.' Were the objects of the trade brute animals," said Mr. Fox, "no man ought to expose them to be treated with such wanton cruelty—were they wholly inanimate, no honest man would engage in a trade founded manifestly on the principles of injustice!" The amendment of Mr. Dundas was nevertheless carried on the division by a majority of sixty-eight voices. Accordingly he afterwards moved "that the importation of negroes into the British colonies should cease

on the 1st of January 1800." This, on the motion of Lord Mornington, was after great difficulty and debate altered to January the 1st 1796.

The next business of importance that came under the consideration of parliament, was the establishment of a new police for the city and liberty of Westminster. The bill for this purpose was introduced by Mr. Burton. The outline of his plan was, to establish five principal offices, to be always open for the administration of that branch of justice which falls within the jurisdiction of the justices of the peace. To each offices three justices were to be appointed, with a salary of 300l. each per annum. The fees paid into all the offices were to be consolidated into one fund, which was to be applied towards the discharge of the salaries; and in order completely to annihilate the odious name and functions of a trading justice, no person in the commission of the peace was to be permitted to receive fees.

Though the various attempts made in the house of commons to obtain a parliamentary reform, had uniformly proved unsuccessful, they were yet far from being unproductive of effects, as they provoked discussions tending to make those very evils more *apparent*, which the legislature peremptorily refused to *remedy*. From this source, and from the knowledge conveyed through a number of popular tracts on the subject, the public mind was at this period completely informed of the defects of our representative system. In consequence of this general diffusion of knowledge, a number of political societies were formed for the purpose of procuring a reform in parliament. One of these societies, composed chiefly of tradesmen, assumed the title of the London Corresponding Society, and adopted in its full extent the celebrated system of reform recommended by the Duke of Richmond, resting on the basis of universal suffrage and annual parliaments. But though the fate
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of this society is destined to occupy a conspicuous part in the subsequent History of England, there was another formed at this time, which, of all others, attracted most the attention both of government and the nation. The society alluded to, known by the name of the Friends of the People, adopted those principles of reform which Mr. Pitt had once supported, and which had been sanctioned by the approbation of the most distinguished advocates for constitutional liberty. About thirty members of parliament entered their names as members of this association, which also comprehended many of the most eminent characters in the kingdom, whether in respect of political or literary ability. After publishing a manly declaration of their sentiments, the society came to the resolution, that early in the next session a motion of reform should be brought forward in parliament, and that the conduct of the business in the house of commons should be committed to Mr. Grey and Mr. Erskine, both of whom were members.

In conformity with the views of this society, Mr. Grey, on the 30th of April, gave notice of his intention to move, in the course of the ensuing session, for an inquiry into the state of the representation. He had scarcely concluded this intimation, when Mr. Pitt rose with unusual vehemence to reprobate the measure. "Nothing could," he said, "be whispered on this subject which did not involve questions of the most serious, the most extensive, the most lasting importance to the people of this country, to the very being of the state. He felt no difficulty in asserting, in the most decisive terms, that he objected both to the time and the mode in which this business was brought forward. He would confess that, in one respect, he *had changed* his opinion upon this subject, and he was not ashamed to own it. He retained his opinion of the propriety of a parliamentary reform, if it could be obtained by a general concurrence, pointing harmlessly at its object. But

he was afraid, at this moment, that if agreed to by that house, the security of all the blessings we enjoyed would be shaken to the foundation. The present, he asserted, was not a time to make hazardous experiments. Could we forget what lessons had been given to the world within a few years? Could it be supposed that men felt the situation of this country, as contrasted with that of others, to be deplorable? He then noticed the association of the friends of the people, and its advertisements, inviting the public to join the standard of reform. He saw with concern the gentlemen to whom he alluded, united with others, who professed not reform only, but direct hostility to the very form of our government, who threatened the extinction of monarchy, hereditary succession, and everything which promoted order and subordination in a state. To his last hour he would resist every attempt of this nature, and if he was called upon either to hazard this, or for ever abandon all hopes of reform, he would say he had no hesitation in preferring the latter alternative."

The moderation of Mr. Fox's language on this occasion afforded a striking contrast to the vehemence of the minister. He reminded the house "that he had never professed to be so sanguine on this subject as the right honourable gentleman; but, although less sanguine, he happened to be a little more consistent; for he had early in public life formed an opinion of the necessity of a parliamentary reform, and remained to this hour convinced of that necessity, and the obvious reason was, that the proceedings of the house were sometimes at variance with the opinion of the public. Of the truth and justice of this sentiment, he said it was only necessary to refer to a recent instance, the Russian armament. The declaration of that house was, that we should proceed to hostilities. The declaration of the people was, that we should not: and so strong was that declaration, that it silenced and awed the minister

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minister with his triumphant majority. What was the consequence? That the people of England were at this moment paying the expence of an armament for which they never gave their consent; and as far as that goes, they pay their money for not being represented, and because their sentiments were not spoken within the walls of that house. It was the doctrine of implicit confidence in the minister that disgusted the people; a confidence not given to him from the experience of his probity and talents, but merely because he was minister: and whatever calamities he may bring upon the country, no inquiry into his conduct will be granted. As to the obnoxious allies of the late associators, the objection might be completely retorted by asking the minister, who have you for your allies? On our part there may be infuriated republicans, on yours they notoriously are the slaves of despotism. The first are the rash zealots of liberty, the latter its inveterate and determined enemies: both of them unfriendly perhaps to the constitution, but there is no comparison between them in point of real hostility to the spirit of freedom."

Mr. Sheridan, among other arguments in favour of reform, observed, "that sixty or seventy peerages had been created under the present administration, for no distinguished abilities, for no public services, but merely for their interest in returning members of parliament. Here peerages had been bartered for election interest; in the sister kingdom they had been all but proved to have been put up to auction for money. The minister, failing in his proposition of adding one hundred members to the house of commons, had almost added as many to the house of peers. In his public letter to Mr. Wyvill, he professed himself a friend, both as a man and minister, to parliamentary reform, and pledged himself to pursue it till it was accomplished. What had since happened to change his opinion? He had been eight years a minister, and as he could with tolerable ease command majorities, he found he could
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do without it." Mr. Sheridan remarked, "that an honorable gentleman (Mr. Powis) had called upon all who thought as he did, to protest against the measure. In this he had done wisely; for to protest was easier than to argue."

On the 5th of June, Mr. Dundas brought forward his statement of the revenue and finances of India; and by an intricate deduction of figures, he attempted to prove the surplus of the Bengal revenue for the preceding year to be no less than 11,000l. The flourishing state of the revenue was, however, remarked by Mr. Francis to be not precisely the same thing with the flourishing state of the country, which might be ill able to bear the weight of these impositions. The seizures for non-payment of the land revenue were, he said, most alarmingly notorious: and he held in his hand, at that moment, two Bengal advertisements, the one announcing the sale of seventeen villages, the other of forty-two. The rest of the debate consisted chiefly in desultory conversation concerning the Indian war. As that subject however soon afterwards assumed a new aspect, by the fortunate termination effected by Lord Cornwallis, a detail of the principal events of the war from its commencement to the peace concluded in March 1792, is of more importance, and has therefore a stronger claim on attention.

The actual commencement of hostilities may be dated from the engagement between the troops of the Rajah of Travancore, stationed at Cranganore for the defence of that fortress, with those of Tippoo Sultan on the 1st of May 1790. This event, which was expected by our government and probably concerted with them, was the signal for a most vigorous preparation for war on the part of the British. The grand Carnatic army assembled immediately in the southern provinces. The general plan of the campaign was to reduce the Coimbatore country, and all the adjacent territory which lay below the Ghauts, or narrow passes
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MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.



*Reduction of Savendroog, an impregnable Hill-Fort of Tippoo Sahib,
by the Marquis Cornwallis.*

between the mountains, and to advance by the Gужelhetty pass to the siege of Seringapatam, the metropolis of Mysore. While such were to be the operations of the grand army under General Meadows, the Bombay army under General Abercrombie was to undertake the reduction of the country lying to the west of the Ghauts, and afterwards to co-operate with the main army, as circumstances might direct. In the mean time the safety of the Carnatic was secured by a force under Colonel Kelly, and styled from its position the centre army, being stationed in the line between Madras and the passes leading to Mysore. The Poonah Mahrattas and the Nizam were respectively to penetrate the enemy's territory in the quarter bordering upon theirs; and Seringapatam was established as the common centre, where the whole force was to appear in a collective body.

The reduction of Cannanore was General Abercrombie's first object, which after having effected, and seized several other places on the coast, he entered the kingdom of Mysore; which, notwithstanding the pretended oppression of the government, exhibited every where marks of the highest cultivation and prosperity. The sultan defending himself with great resolution, and no mean display of military skill, General Meadows found himself under the necessity of retreating to the vicinity of Madras; where in the month of December 1790, Lord Cornwallis assumed the command of the army in person. The first exploit, after his lordship's joining the army, was the capture of Savendroog one of the most formidable hill-forts in the whole of Tippoo's dominions. It is indeed a vast mountain of rock, and is reckoned to rise above half a mile in perpendicular height, from a base of eight or ten miles in circumference. Embraced by walls on every side, and defended by cross-walls and barriers wherever it was deemed accessible, this huge mountain had the farther advantage of being divided above by a chasm which
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separates the upper part into two hills, which, having each their defences, form two citadels capable of being maintained independent of the lower work, and affording a secure retreat, should encourage the garrison to hold out to the last extremity.

Lieut.-colonel Stuart, who commanded the right wing of the army, and in the first campaign had been employed in reducing the forts of Dindigul and Paulgautchery, was destined to command at the siege of Savendroog, and pitched his camp, on the 10th of December, within three miles of the north side of the rock, the quarter from which the chief engineer had proposed to carry on the attack. The force sent with Colonel Stuart consisted of the 52d and 72d regiments, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Nesbitt, and three battalions of sepoy. Major Montague, in command of the artillery, had a park of four iron eighteen and four iron twelve-pounders, and two howitzers, besides the field-pieces of the corps.

This stupendous fortress, so difficult of approach, is no less famed for its noxious atmosphere, occasioned by the surrounding hills and woods, than for its wonderful size and strength; and is said to have derived its name of *Savendroog*, or the Rock of Death, from its fatal climate.

The flank companies of the 71st and 76th regiments having been sent from camp to join the detachment, and every thing being in readiness, the morning of the 21st of December was fixed for the assault.

At eleven o'clock, on a signal of two guns being fired from the batteries, the flank companies, followed by the 52d and 72d regiments, advanced to the assault; the band of the 52d regiment playing, "Britons, strike home!" while the grenadiers and light infantry mounted the breach. The road, or pathway, from the breach to the western hill being not only extremely steep, but narrow, the enemy who fled from the breach impeded
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J. Poff. sculp.

Representation of Storming and taking Bangalore, by the Marquis Cornwallis.

each other, and a few well-directed shot from the batteries, at that moment, did execution, and increased their confusion. Captain Monson, with his own light company of the 52d regiment, and a serjeant and twelve grenadiers of the 71st regiment, pressed so hard, that they entered the different barriers along with the enemy, and killing a number of them, among whom was the second killedar, gained possession of the top of the mountain, where the head killedar was prisoner. So close and critical was the pursuit, that the serjeant of the 71st regiment, when at some distance, shot the man who was shutting the first gate. Above a hundred of the enemy were killed on the western hill, and several fell down the precipices in escaping from the assailants. The prisoners were few, who said the garrison had consisted of 1500; but that many had deserted during the siege. Thus, in less than an hour, in open day, the stupendous and hitherto-deemed impregnable fortress of Savendroog was stormed without the loss of a man, only one private soldier having been wounded in the assault!

The plan of the war was now considerably changed, and a grand effort resolved on, to force a passage to Seringapatam through the country lying directly westward of Madras. On the 22d of February 1791 the army had marched beyond the pass of Muglee without interruption; and on the 24th, Lord Cornwallis proceeded to Bangalore. After three days march, some parties of the enemy's horse were discovered, which increased as the army advanced; and before the British reached within eighteen miles of Bangalore, they burnt all the adjacent villages and destroyed the forage. When advanced within ten miles, the sultan's army appeared in excellent order, and having taken possession of the heights, cannonaded the British rear, while his cavalry made an unsuccessful attempt on the baggage. The British general encamped before Bangalore on the 5th of March. On the fol-

lowing day the *petta* or town was stormed and taken, with the loss of one hundred men. On the 22d Lord Cornwallis determined, without further delay, to storm the fort, as he was beginning to run short of provisions. The storming party consisted of the 36th, 72d, 76th, king's regiments, two battalions of sepoys, together with the European grenadiers and light infantry of the army: and the whole command by Major-general Meadows.

They were obliged to ascend and descend by scaling ladders, and in two hours from the commencement of the assault the British colours were seen flying on the rampart. The garrison consisted of about 3000 men, 1500 of whom were instantly and inevitably put to the bayonet. Great quantities of grain were found in the fort and *pettah*; and this glorious enterprise was effected with the loss of only about 20 men killed and wounded on our side. Bangalore was reckoned among Tippoo's strongest holds in the Mysore country, and consequently its loss was severely felt by him.

The fort is nearly oval, with two gates covered by outworks, but without a drawbridge; one to the south-west called the Seringapatam-gate—the other, Ooscotah, to the eastward. It appears to be irregularly built, about a mile and three quarters in circumference, with small round bastions at the distance of 50 or 60 yards, incapable of containing more than three guns each. Six lofty cavaliers in different parts, mounting each eight or ten guns, command the fort and the adjacent country; the rampart is sufficiently broad to admit of the heaviest guns being fired from the curtains; and the ditch, except in two places where it is covered by outworks, is deep and broad, but with hardly any water in it.—The *fausse-braye* is wide, and the covertway very judiciously constructed; the glacis, as is usual in Indian forts, too steep. More than 100 pieces of cannon were taken, with great quantities of ammunition and military stores.

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All accounts concur in admiring the extent and magnificence of the palace, and the plantations and disposition of its garden; exact architecture or elegance could not be looked for, but much more of both was found than could have been expected. In the extensive chambers of the palace, a rich profusion of carpets, hangings, and silks, gilded and fluted pillars, and walls and ceilings painted and burnished; and, in the garden, walks and pieces of water well disposed and planted, with lofty and shady avenues, and fruit and flowers in great abundance. But a still more important proof of the rapid strides the former master of Bangalore was making in useful improvements, was the state of the foundry for cannon and iron-works which he carried on there. One very remarkable machine for boring muskets was found; it is worked by bullocks, and such is its force and contrivance as to bore fifty at a time. The venerable killedar Bahauder Khan, fell in the storm of the ramparts. The second in command also fell; and Kistna Row, Tippoo's favourite bucshee, was taken prisoner. The walls were scaled in two places at once.

On the 13th of May, the army, by extraordinary exertions, arrived in view of Seringapatam, the superb capital of Mysore, defended by the sultan in person: such were the rapid movements of Lord Cornwallis, that Tippoo had only reached the place four days before his lordship came in sight. On the next day an action took place, in which Tippoo was said to be defeated; though he does not appear to have sustained any very considerable loss. The swelling of the river Caverry, which surrounds Seringapatam, together with the want of provisions, compelled Lord Cornwallis to begin his retreat to Bangalore, almost before his victory could be announced. General Abercrombie, who had advanced through the Ghauts on the opposite side, with a view to form a junction with Lord Cornwallis, was now also obliged to lead back his army, fatigued, har-

passed, and disappointed, over the mountains they had so lately and with such difficulty passed. During these transactions, the troops of the Nizam and the Mahrattas kept discreetly aloof, leaving the burthen of the war almost entirely to the British. While the army lay encamped near Seringapatam, a present of fruit was sent from Tippoo to Lord Cornwallis, and some overtures for a separate peace: the present was however returned, with an assurance to the sultan, that no peace could be accepted that did not include the allies. Notwithstanding this disappointment, so solicitous was Tippoo for peace, that Lord Cornwallis had scarcely reached Bangalore when a vakeel arrived with full powers to treat; but owing, it is said, to some informality in point of etiquette, rather than to any dislike of the object of his mission, all negociation was suspended.

Though this campaign was not attended with the success expected, the next, for which Lord Cornwallis made unremitted preparations, opened under more favourable auspices. On the 1st of February, 1792, the grand army proceeded on their march to attack a second time the capital of Tippoo Saib, with all the confidence that arose from knowing that every difficulty was now foreseen and provided against; and all were sensible that the fatigues they had undergone were amply compensated by the experience gained in the former expedition to the capital. Under these impressions they soon mounted the range of barren hills that lies to the north-east of Seringapatam. The view of the city from those heights, and of the sultan's encampment under the walls of it, was a pleasing but not a new sight to the army. Every circumstance that could be observed was interesting; and, from the sultan's position, it was evident he meant to defend the place in person, and make this the grand concluding scene of the war.

The army arrived on the 5th of February, and
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Barlow sculp.

Defeat of Tippoo Saib before Seringapatam, by the Marquis Cornwallis.

Published as the Act directs, March 1st 1796.

pitched their camp across the valley of Milgottah, fronting the sultan, at the distance of about six miles from his camp and capital. The British army formed the front line. Its right wing reached from the river along the rear of the French rocks to a large tank which covered that flank of the line. The park and left wing extended from the other side of the river to the verge of the hills which the army had crossed on their last march. The reserve, encamped about a mile in the rear, facing outwards, left a sufficient space between it and the line for the stores and baggage. The Mahratta armies were also in the rear, somewhat farther removed, to prevent interference with our camp.

Ever since the junction of the Mahratta armies, Tippoo, seeing he could not continue to keep the field, had employed his chief attention, and the exertions of the main body of his army, in fortifying his camp, and improving his defences in the fort and island. The country had already been laid waste during the former campaign, and the sultan seemed confidently to rest his hopes on the strength of his works and army for protracting the siege, till the want of supplies, or the approach of the monsoon, should again oblige his enemies to withdraw from his capital. This plan of defence was the more promising of success, not only from the event of the last campaign, but from its being exactly an adoption of the measures by which his father, Hyder Ali, defeated a similar combination which was formed for the attack of his capital in 1767.

At seven o'clock in the evening of the 6th of February, orders were given for a general attack upon the lines and fortified camp of Tippoo, on the heights adjoining the city of Seringapatam. The evening was calm and serene; the troops moved on in determined silence, and the full moon, which had just risen, promised to light them to success.

The

The right column was conducted by Captain Beatson, of the guides; the centre column by Captain Allen, of the guides, and Lieut. Macleod of the intelligence department; and harcarrahs (native guides or spies) who had been within the enemy's lines, were sent both to these and the left column.

Tippoo's picquets having made no attempt to interrupt the reconnoitring parties in the forenoon, he probably did not expect so early a visit. The distance of our camp seemed a circumstance favourable to his security; and he did not, perhaps, imagine, that Lord Cornwallis would attack his lines till strengthened by the junction of the armies commanded by General Abercrombie and Purseram Bhow. The sultan still less imagined that a fortified camp, defended by a powerful army, with a large field-train, and under the guns of his capital, would be attempted by infantry alone, without cannon, and in the uncertainty of the night.

The allies, to whom the intended attack was not mentioned till after the columns had marched, were in a state of the greatest consternation, on hearing that Lord Cornwallis had ventured out with part of his infantry only, and without cannon, to attack all Tippoo's army in a fortified camp under the walls of his capital. Their surprise was still greater, on knowing that his lordship in person commanded the division that was to penetrate the centre of the enemy's camp, and had gone himself, as they termed it, to fight like a private foldier. They thought it next to impossible that the enterprize should succeed, and dreaded that the ruin of the allied armies might be involved in the attempt.

Between ten and eleven o'clock at night, the centre column touched upon the enemy's grand guard, or a body of cavalry, that were coming with rocket boys to disturb the British camp, as they had done on the preceding night. The horsemen instantly galloped to their lines, leaving

leaving the rocket-boys to harrafs the column, and endeavour to impede its march. They threw numberless rockets, that, like the flashes of distant lightning which precede a storm, were effectual only in declaring our approach.

The left column, when the rocketing commenced, was ascending the great Carighaut hill, which soon became illuminated by the discharge of musquetry; and the front division of the centre column, pushing briskly forward on being discovered, entered the lines about a quarter of an hour after the intelligence could have got to the enemy.

General Abercrombie's army, meeting with more impediments to retard its progress than were expected, and led to a more distant point than intended by Lord Cornwallis, was considerably later in reaching the scene of action, notwithstanding his lordship's precaution in halting his column for half an hour early in the evening on that account. About half past eleven o'clock these troops came up, and, turning to the right, advanced rapidly against the enemy's principal redoubt in that quarter, distinguished by the white *ead-gah*, or mosque, which, shone upon by the moon, was seen clearly on the eminence.

The battle now became general throughout the whole extent of the enemy's lines, the discharge of cannon and peals of musquetry shewing that our troops had every where closed with the enemy. The city, and royal palace, situated low, and seen but faintly in the moon-light, remained silent amidst the conflict.

About eleven o'clock the head of the column forced through the external barrier, under a very heavy but ill-directed fire from the guns of the sultan's redoubt, and the field-pieces stationed in the intervals of Tippoo's line. The fire of the musquetry was for some time very heavy, but also ill directed, and, on the column's advancing, the enemy giving way, the leading companies pushed to the river, passing the sultan's

tan's tent, which appeared to have been abandoned with much precipitation.

The enemy, completely surprised by the parties which moved down to the river; unable to judge of their numbers in the night; and strongly impressed with the terror of the bayonet in the hands of Europeans, deserted the lines and batteries, which were all open to the rear, and dispersed. Some fled for shelter to the gate of the pettah, where they were seized; and from one prisoner, Lieutenant-colonel Knox received information of several Europeans being confined in a house at no great disgrace. A party was immediately sent, who released twenty-seven half-starved wretches in heavy irons; among them was Mr. Randal Cadman, a midshipman, taken ten years before by Suffrein, and by him delivered to Hyder. The remainder were private soldiers; some of whom had been taken by the Looties; others were deserters, but who had not, on that account, met with better treatment.

During this period, no attempt was made by the enemy to rally their troops. They had not yet recovered from their panic, and their attention was distracted by the bodies of our army, that had taken post in different parts of the island, and with whose strength they could not possibly be acquainted.

On approaching the sultan's redoubt, however, a large body of horse opposed itself to the progress of the column; Major Dalrymple formed the 71st regiment, and gave them orders to fire one round, to load and shoulder. This order was executed with great steadiness; and, on the clearing up of the smoke occasioned by the volley, the horse were seen at a distance scattered over the field.

About two hours before day-light seven companies of the 52d regiment, and three companies of the 14th Bengal battalion, joined his lordship. Their arrival was most fortunate, as scarcely had they time to replace their

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their ammunition (their cartridges having been damaged in passing the river), when a large body of troops, part of Tippoo's centre and left, who had recovered from the panic occasioned by the first operations of the night, marched down and attacked him with much resolution. Animated by the presence and under the immediate orders of the commander in chief, these four corps received the enemy with firmness, returned their fire, and, on their approaching nearer, charged them with their bayonets. They, however, renewed the attack repeatedly, and it was near daylight before they were finally repulsed.

Lord Cornwallis, by his presence, made the victory decisive. He was on horseback during the whole of the night, in the midst of the attack; and, in the last onset of the enemy, had his left hand grazed by a musket shot. Yet, when the night was over, the battle was not at an end: the fort now opened on such of our troops as were within its reach, and the scattered remains of the enemy began to collect in different parties. They had still possession of the redoubts between the sultan's and the mosque redoubt, and of several batteries and posts on the island, between the pettah and the fort.

The men had scarcely re-filled their cartridge-boxes, when a body of cavalry (at least two thousand strong) were seen advancing with so determined a countenance, that it would seem they intended to charge with more vigour than ever. They halted, however, beyond the reach of musket-shot, when three or four hundred of them dismounted, drew their sabres, and made a most daring attempt to storm the sultan's redoubt which we had taken. Fortunately its brave defenders were prepared to receive them. Their fire brought down many; and the rest, getting into confusion, retired, while their friends behind the rocks redoubled their fire of cannon, musquetry, and rockets, to cover their retreat. This happened at one

o'clock in the afternoon, and was the last effort made by the enemy to recover the sultan's redoubt; nor did its defenders wish for the honour of another attack. It had become a horrid scene of carnage; two officers and nineteen privates lay dead among their feet, and three officers and twenty-two privates, miserably wounded, were imploring assistance which it was not in their power to give. About four in the afternoon, the enemy's fire from behind the rocks slackened, and they soon after began to quit their post and retire to the island. Water was then brought from a ditch and pond near the redoubt, which afforded a most welcome refreshment to the wounded, and to the remaining part of the troops, who were nearly exhausted with want and fatigue.

Such was the result of the battle of the 6th and 7th of February 1792; an event that will ever be contemplated with admiration in the annals of the British transactions in India, not less from the signal advantages gained over an able and obstinate adversary, than from the consummate wisdom displayed in the plan of attack. Formed on the result of the experience acquired in the course of the war, it was the boldest and most masterly measure that the relative position and circumstances of the contending armies could suggest; and executed with a degree of vigour which gave way to no resistance, and with a steadiness of discipline which no temptation of plunder could allure; the only spoils secured were the arms, the standards, and the cannon, of the enemy.

Tippoo's principal loss was in the vast desertion that took place in consequence of his overthrow. His sepoy's threw down their arms in great numbers, and, taking the advantage of the night, went off in every direction to the countries where they had been impressed or enlisted: many came into the British camp; and that continued to be the case during the siege. From their reports, it appeared, that, on a muster taken

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ken of the sultan's army, some days after the battle, his killed, wounded, and missing, were found to amount to twenty thousand!

The enemy having quitted every post on the north-side of the river, the camp was advanced on the succeeding days as near to the bound hedge as the guns of the fort would permit, and a chain of connecting posts along the northern and eastern sides of the fort was formed, and thus the capital of Myfore was completely invested on its two principal points.

Thus pressed in every quarter—his palace and beautiful gardens in possession of the enemy—his whole power reduced within the narrow limits of a citadel, the defence of which was even doubtful—the hitherto unsubdued spirit of the sultan seems to have given way with his tottering fortunes, and peace, upon almost any terms, was become a desirable object. As a preliminary step towards an accommodation, he released Lieutenant Chalmers and Nash, who had been taken prisoners, and on their departure presented them with two shawls and five hundred rupees. Soon after he dispatched a vakeel to the camp of Lord Cornwallis to sue for peace; which the British general at last granted upon the severe terms: 1. Of his ceding one half of his dominions to the allied powers. 2. Of paying three crores and thirty lacks of rupees, as an indemnification for the expences of the war. 3. The release of all prisoners. 4. The delivery of two of his sons as hostages for the due performance of the treaty.

On the 26th of February, the two princes, each mounted on an elephant richly caparisoned, proceeded from the fort to Lord Cornwallis's camp, where they were received by his lordship with his staff. The eldest, Abul Kalick, was about ten, the youngest, Mooza-ud-Deen, about eight, years of age. The princes were attired in white muslin robes, with red turbans, richly adorned with pearls. Educated from infancy

with the utmost care, the spectators were astonished to behold in these children all the reserve, the politeness, and attention, of maturer years. The kindness with which they were received by the British commander, appeared to afford them the highest satisfaction. Some presents were exchanged on both sides, and the whole transaction exhibited a scene at once peculiarly novel, pleasing, and interesting. On the 19th of March, 1792, the definitive treaty, signed by the sultan, was delivered by the young princes, with great solemnity, into the hands of Lord Cornwallis; but the sums specified in the second article not being actually paid, the princes remained for some time longer under the safeguard and custody of his lordship.

We are now approaching that calamitous period, when England was destined to interfere in the affairs of France; and from an honourable and prosperous neutrality, to become the principal in a war which deluged the continent in blood.

On the 21st, of May 1792, a royal proclamation was issued against the publication and sale of seditious writings, with strong injunctions to all persons to inform against those who should be guilty of such daring attempts, &c. This proclamation was evidently pointed at the Rights of Man, a publication which had made a considerable impression upon the common people; and surely no expedient could be better calculated to procure consequence to the author, or popularity to his works.

The proclamation having intimated a belief, that "correspondencies had been entered into with sundry persons in foreign parts," obviously alluding to France, M. Chauvelin, who had but a few weeks before arrived here in the capacity of French ambassador, presented immediately an official declaration to Lord Grenville, in which he complained that certain expressions in the proclamation appeared to give credit to the erroneous opinions propagated by the enemies of France both as to the hostile intentions of Great Britain to
wards

wards France, and the treacherous designs of France to promote sedition and confusion in the most pacific and honourable dispositions of France towards this country; and produced an answer from Lord Grenville, that breathed the strongest sentiments of peace and amity, with an unequivocal engagement from our king, *directly and positively* to maintain the treaty of navigation and commerce existing between the two nations. As it was generally suspected in France, that the King of Great Britain had entered into the league of Pilnitz, and was in secret alliance with the courts of Vienna and Berlin, the answer of Lord Grenville, when read in the national assembly, was received with boundless applause, as a seasonable pledge of peace, at a time when strong fears were entertained of the hostile intentions of our court.

Dark and mysterious as the conduct of the allied courts has been relative to the treaty of Pilnitz, the following paper, which has never been officially disowned, certainly deserves to remain upon record.

*Partition Treaty between the Courts in Concert,
concluded and signed at Pavia, in the month
of July 1791.*

His majesty the emperor will retake all that Louis XIV. conquered in the Austrian Netherlands; and uniting these provinces to the said Netherlands, will give them to his serene highness the Elector Palatine, so that these new possessions, added to the palatinate, may hereafter have the name of Austrasia.

His majesty the emperor will preserve, for ever, the property and possession of Bavaria, to make in future an indivisible mass with the domains and hereditary possessions of the house of Austria.

Her serene highness the Archduchess Maria Christina should be conjointly with his serene highness her nephew, the Archduke Charles, put into hereditary possession of the Duchy of Lorraine.

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Alcace shall be restored to the empire, and the Bishop of Strasburgh, as well as the chapter, shall recover their ancient privileges, and the ecclesiastical sovereigns of Germany shall do the same.

If the Swiss cantons consent and accede to the coalition, it may be proposed to them to annex to the helvetic league the bishopric of Porentru, the defiles of Franche Comté, and even those of Tyrol, with the neighbouring bailiwicks, as well as the territory of Berfoy, which intersects the pays de Vaud.

Should his majesty the King of Sardinia subscribe to the coalition, la Bresse, le Bugey, and the pays de Gex, usurped by France from Savoy, shall be restored to him.

In case his Sardinian majesty can make a grand diversion, he shall be suffered to take Dauphiny to belong to him for ever, as the nearest descendant of the ancient Dauphins.

His majesty the King of Spain shall have Roussillon and Bearn with the island of Corfica, and he shall take possession of the French part of Saint Domingo.

Her majesty the Empress of all the Russias shall take upon herself the invasion of Poland, and at the same time retain Kamienieck, with that part of Podolia which borders on Moldavia.

His majesty the emperor shall oblige the Porte to give up Choczim, as well as the small forts of Servia, and those on the river Lurna.

His majesty the King of Prussia, by means of the above-mentioned invasion of the Empress of all the Russias into Poland, shall make an acquisition of Thorn and Dantzic, and there unite the palatine on the east to the confines of Silesia.

His majesty the King of Prussia shall besides acquire Lusace, and his serene highness the Elector of Saxony shall in exchange receive the rest of Poland, and occupy the throne as hereditary sovereign.

His

His majesty the present King of Poland shall abdicate the throne, on receiving a suitable annuity.

His royal highness the Elector of Saxony shall give his daughter in marriage to his serene highness the youngest son of his royal highness the grand duke of all the Russias, who will be the father of the race of the hereditary kings of Poland and Lithuania.

(Signed)

LEOPOLD,
PRINCE NASSAU,
COUNT FLORIDA BLANCA,
BISCHOFFSUEERDER.

The King of England is said to have acceded to this treaty in March 1792. And Holland to have acceded afterwards, provided the arrangements, respecting their limits with his imperial majesty should be made according to the desire of the republic before the partition. Spain renounced it, when Count d'Aranda came into office as minister, giving assurances however of the strictest neutrality.

France had on every occasion, since the commencement of her revolution up to this period, expressed a constant and anxious solicitude to preserve a good understanding with this country. Nor were there any terms so humiliating or harsh, to which she did not appear over ready to submit, in order to secure this important and primary object. Nothing can be more emphatically expressive of these sentiments, than the note which M. de Chauvelin presented upon this subject to Lord Grenville, in which, for the preservation of the peace of Europe, the king of the French urges his Britannic majesty zealously to employ his good offices with his allies, to prevent them from granting to the enemies of France, directly or indirectly, any assistance. He invites him to employ in his wisdom, and in the plenitude of his influence, the means compatible with the independence of the French nation, to stop, whilst yet it may be effected, the progress of this dreadful

dreadful combination, equally dangerous to the peace, the liberty, and the happiness, of Europe.

The evasive answer of Lord Grenville to this official note, sufficiently bespoke the approbation with which the English government viewed the measures of its allies against France. The answer states, "That the same sentiments which engaged his Britannic majesty not to interfere with the internal affairs of France, equally tended to induce him to respect the rights and independence of other sovereigns, and particularly those of his allies." The slightest observer will perceive an obvious and important difference between the interference with the internal affairs of an independent state, and the intermediation of a third power to conciliate a quarrel, or prevent a rupture between contending sovereigns. The former encroaches upon the rights and independence of other powers,—the latter admits and recognizes both. When the conduct of ministers is recollected, in their recent interference between the Ottoman Porte and the empress, respecting the cession of Oczakow, (an object which could scarcely affect the interests of this country in the most distant degree,) it will not only appear that they are not always restrained from obtruding their services by a scrupulous delicacy, but that the studied evasion observable in this answer to the French court was most probably only intended to conceal, till the proper opportunity, the hostile disposition of our government to the new order of things in France.

The late emperor Leopold finished his short reign by a sudden death on the first of March 1792. This event happened at a most critical moment; strong suspicions were entertained of French poison, which were soon removed by the publication of an authentic narrative of his case. He was succeeded by his son Francis I. who was proclaimed emperor at Frankfort on the 5th of July. The first act of his reign was to declare his cordial accession to the treaty of Pilnitz; and from
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henceforth the courts of Vienna and Berlin joined in public hostilities against France. The court of Vienna published a declaration or manifesto of the reasons which induced her to take up arms against France. The first of these regarded the nature of the protection afforded to the emigrants, which, through misrepresentation, had given much umbrage to France. The next touched on the spirit of anarchy and violence "now reigning in France, of which it had become necessary for a concert of princes to check the progress, in order to oppose its introduction into their own states. That it depended on those who reign at present over France to make this concert cease immediately, by respecting the tranquillity and rights of other powers, and to *guarantee the essential basis of the French monarchical form of government* against the infringements of violence and anarchy." The King of Prussia published a similar declaration. His manifesto, however, was more diffuse than that of Austria, and entered more particularly into the suppression and invasion of the German princes of Alsace and Lorraine, and the violation of the treaties that united France to the German empire. It enlarged on the mischievous consequences of propagating anti-monarchical principles, and it described the conduct of the French government with regard to the troops sent to the frontiers, as an unprovoked attack of his ally the King of Hungary and Bohemia, and consequently an unequivocal declaration of war by France.

These manifestoes of the allied powers produced a violent fermentation at Paris. The country was publicly declared to be in danger, and the most vigorous measures were immediately adopted to recruit the army and strengthen the frontiers. A royal proclamation was published, setting forth in a strong light the dangers to which France was exposed. In consequence of this and other steps taken by the French government, a profusion of volunteers of all ages immedi-

ately poured down upon the frontiers with the ardour of the most frantic enthusiasm.

Coblentz was at this time the general rendezvous of the French emigrants. Here they had assembled to the number of near twenty thousand; and the King of Prussia, on his arrival, was received as the illustrious chief, under whose auspices they expected the complete restoration of the ancient order of things. The reigning Duke of Brunswick had the command of the combined armies which were destined for the great enterprize of invading France. But before he began his march from Coblentz, in order that the whole world might fully know the views and spirit of his glorious mission, he published a manifesto in his own name, in which, to a general recapitulation of the reasons assigned by the Emperor and King of Prussia, for combining their forces against France, he subjoins; "To these high interests, is added another important object, and which both sovereigns have most cordially in view, which is to put an end to that anarchy which prevails in the interior parts of France; to put a stop to the attacks made on the throne and the altar, and restore to the king his legitimate power," &c. Then, as commander in chief of the two armies, he disavows any pretence to enrich themselves by conquest; and disclaims *any intention to meddle with the internal government of France*. But in case of their making any resistance when summoned to surrender, or when attacked; or of their not preventing conflagrations, murders, and pillage; or of their removing the king and royal family from Paris; or of their attempting to force or insult the palace of the Thuilleries; or of their offering the least violence or outrage to their majesties or the royal family: then does he fulminate his maledictions upon the devoted land; he denounces instant death to the rebels taken in arms; decapitation and confiscation to the members of the departments, districts, and municipalities; mili-

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tary execution to the members of the national assembly, magistrates, and all the inhabitants of Paris; and total destruction to their guilty city. Though this thundering menace seemed to threaten vengeance awefully compendious, yet the Duke of Brunswick was still reproached with some qualms of lenity; and, in less than forty-eight hours, he sent forth a second manifesto, to confirm and heighten the terror of the first, declaring, "that if, contrary to all expectation, by the perfidy or baseness of some inhabitants of Paris, the king and queen, or any other person of the royal family should be carried off from that city, all the places and towns whatsoever which shall not have opposed their passage, and shall not have stopped their proceedings, shall incur the same punishments as those inflicted on the inhabitants of Paris, and their route shall be marked with a series of exemplary punishments justly due to the authors and abettors of crimes for which there is no remission."

The plans of the campaign having been settled, the Prussian troops began their march from Triers on the 11th of August, and by the end of the month Longwy, a small but well-fortified town, had surrendered to General Clairfait. Verdun also surrendered to the Duke of Brunswick without resistance. The governor of Longwy was accused of having delivered up the town through treachery. The governor of Verdun was compelled to do it by the inhabitants: but he would not survive the disgrace, and shot himself with a pistol.

The surrender of Verdun to the Duke of Brunswick completed the delirium of rage to which his thundering manifesto had given rise. Paris became a scene of alarm and agitation, and the ruling demagogues seized the moment of terror, to hurl destruction upon their domestic enemies, and gratify their purposes of vengeance. The Duke of Brunswick was represented as having passed Chalons; and the community of Paris

decreed the gates to be shut; summoned all the citizens to arms; then, under pretence of searching for warlike implements and ammunition, commenced a round of domiciliary visits, dragged numbers of suspected persons from their beds to prison at midnight; and, horrid to relate, in the course of the three following days, some thousands were murdered in cold blood, without accusation or defence.

It is not the design of this history to follow minutely the motions of the combined armies, to which as yet Great Britain had not openly acceded. But it is a duty incumbent on the English historian, to endeavour to trace in the actions of the united sovereigns, those principles of their confederacy, to which England afterwards assented when she became a party in the grand alliance. Dumourier, who commanded the French army with very inferior force, succeeded in stopping the progress of the enemy, and defeating every view that had brought the combined armies into the field. The small town of Thionville was for several weeks besieged in vain, by Prince Hohenloe and the chief body of French emigrants. It was at this siege, that these unfortunate men first found reason to lament the cause in which they had embarked. Anxious to acquire a military reputation, and to animate others by their example, they offered to reduce the town by themselves, if the commander in chief would supply them with proper ordnance for the siege. This was refused, and during the whole of the campaign they were constantly kept in the back ground, in a state of inactivity the most mortifying and inglorious. They received no pay during their service, were disbanded at pleasure, were pillaged by the Prussian soldiery, though a part of the King of Prussia's army, and were most inhumanly excluded from the cartel for the exchange of prisoners. Having no mercy to expect from their countrymen, they had the stronger claim on the protection of that sovereign under whose banner they were fighting: those, however, who had been surprised

surprised by the enemy, were actually executed like common malefactors. This treatment of the French emigrants, is a tolerable proof that the mysterious convention of Pilnitz had for its objects other interests than those of the French.

The execution of the decree for banishing all the nonjuring clergymen to Guiana, who should not have quitted the kingdom in fourteen days from its passing, poured thousands of these unfortunate exiles from Normandy, Picardy, and Brittany, upon our coasts of Kent and Suffex. Misery and distress are at all times a sufficient passport to English humanity; and this amiable characteristic of our countrymen was on this occasion most eminently displayed. Wherever these sufferers appeared, they were welcomed, relieved, and comforted. The old rivalry of the two nations was forgotten, and our difference from that very religion for which they were persecuted, was swallowed up in generous feeling for their unfortunate and hapless condition. Never was an opportunity of exercising heroic charity more eagerly embraced, nor benevolence conferred with more glowing sensibility.

Whatever were the reasons which induced the Duke of Brunswick to decline giving battle to the enemy, no ingenuity can justify his leading an army of seventy thousand men into a barren part of the enemy's kingdom, without securing to them a proper supply of provisions, and a ready and safe retreat. Two months had not expired since this thundering hero had, by his manifestoes, announced death and destruction to all that should not submit to his summons. But now, alas! his army had advanced but a few leagues into the enemy's territory, where one third of its number were destined to find a grave: it had drawn upon itself their contempt by inactivity and insolence; and their detestation by rapacity and plunder. It had been four days without bread, the want of which drove the perishing soldiers to the unwholesome food of unripe grapes;

grapes; and the wetness of the season superadded to other causes produced in the combined army a general sickness, that is said to have proved fatal to every third man. Feeling the distress of his situation, the Duke of Brunswick proposed an armistice three days after the meeting of the convention, and even condescended to request a conference with the French general Dumourier. The purport of this convention, like that of Pilnitz, has never been satisfactorily explained; surmise and conjecture have supplied the place of fact and information; but the subsequent movements of the armies furnish a clue, that leads with tolerable certainty to the result of this secret conference.

The commander in chief of the combined armies, when unable longer to maintain his ground, betrayed greater weakness in negotiating with the French general, than he had in losing every advantage he brought into the field. Instead of profiting by experience, in perceiving the extreme impolicy of his two former manifestoes, he was frantic enough to rest the basis of his negotiation upon a third, in which he repeats his thundering and terrific threatenings, with as much assurance as if he had power to inflict them. He assures the French, that the allied sovereigns never will depart from the firm resolution of restoring to his most christian majesty, liberty, safety, and royal dignity; or of exercising just and exemplary vengeance against those who shall longer dare to infringe them. That, invariably attached to the principle of not intermeddling with the interior government of France, they still persist in requiring that his most christian majesty, as well as the whole royal family, shall be immediately set at liberty, &c. Dumourier persisted in the impossibility of negotiating upon the basis of a manifesto carrying with it menace and war, that could only tend to irritate a free people, and consequently terminate all amicable intercourse. "It does not," says he, "at all enter the sense of that, which has been talked of
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between us for the last four days—it even destroys it completely: it is even contradictory to the conversation, with which the Duke of Brunswick honoured Adjutant-general Thouvenot.” The purport of these conferences, to which Dumourier alludes, was the most abject and unequivocal undertaking of the Duke of Brunswick, on behalf of the combined powers, to be satisfied with a grant of the smallest portion even of nominal power to the unfortunate Louis; “less,” said he, “than that of a King of England, a King of Mah-rattas, a Stadtholder, a principal tax-gatherer, in short any allowance that could afford them a pretext for retiring.” If this mendicant supplication be compared with the language even of the last manifesto, which it had only preceded three days, their insincerity to the French king will be as completely established, as their treachery to the emigrants. That constitution of France, against which the convention of Pilnitz had been entered into, and for the destruction of which above one hundred thousand men were then in arms, was a larger boon than these humbled menacers now demanded, and was refused. Indeed, it is generally believed that the Prussian army must have been entirely cut off, had not the French generals, either from collusion or humanity, spared them in their retreat. Serious accusations upon this head were carried to the convention, particularly against General Arthur Dillon. But as Dumourier undertook to justify him, it appears to have been agreed upon in the negotiation between the generals, that no molestation should be offered to the retiring army. Verdun and Longwy were given up: the siege of Lisle was raised; and the French declared their country out of danger.

On the 18th of October the Austrian and Prussian armies had completely evacuated France.—By this time the French arms were triumphant in every quarter. War having been declared against the King of Sardinia, General Montesquiou entered Savoy on the 20th of September, was received with joyful acclamation

tion at Chamberri the capital, and the whole country submitted almost without resistance. On the other side, the fortress of Montalban, and the entire country of Nice, were conquered by General Anselm. On the banks of the Rhine, General Custine distinguished himself by the most brilliant successes—reducing successively the cities of Worms, Spire, Mentz, and Frankfurt. Early in November, General Dumourier entered the Austrian Netherlands. Mons instantly surrendered. Tournay, Ostend, Ghent, and Antwerp, soon followed; and on the fourteenth, the French general made his triumphal entry into Brussels.

The rapid and brilliant success of the republican arms in the very outset of their career, filled Europe with consternation and terror. In proportion as their enemies multiplied, their courage and resources increased, and before the end of November the dominion of the republic was rapidly extended from the Alps to the Rhine, from Geneva to the mouth of the Scheld. The victory of Jemappe secured the conquest of Brabant and Flanders; and the most numerous and best-appointed armies of the universe, were every where seen flying from the undisciplined, naked, but enthusiastic, troops of the victorious republic.

The national convention was now so elated with the amazing progress of their arms, and so confident of the propriety and rectitude of every measure proposed for their adoption, that they seem to have thought deliberation a drudgery, and reflection superfluous. In this spirit a decree was passed by acclamation in the assembly, November the 19th 1792, in the following terms:—"The national convention declare, in the name of the French nation, that they will grant fraternity and assistance to all those who wish to procure liberty. And they charge the executive power to send orders to the generals to give assistance to such people, and to defend citizens who have suffered and are now suffering in the cause of liberty." This fa-

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mous decree, which deserved to be considered in no other light than as a magnificent and empty vaunt; was productive of very serious and important consequences. Two other decrees of the assembly also demand a specific notice: the one erecting the duchy of Savoy into an eighty-fourth department of the French republic, contrary to a fundamental article of the constitution, by which she renounced all foreign conquest: the other, on the capture of Antwerp, declaratory of the freedom of navigation on the river Scheld.

It was now that the English government began to discover their alarm at the rapidity and extent of the French conquests. Brabant, Flanders, and Liege, had been subdued, and seemed perfectly disposed to fraternize with their conquerors. It was well known that in Holland a very considerable party of mal-contents sought an opportunity of declaring themselves openly against the Prince of Orange. Lord Auckland, the English ambassador, was therefore directed to assure their high mightinesses, "that as the theatre of war was brought so near to the confines of their republic, his Britannic majesty was both ready and determined to execute with the utmost good faith the treaty of 1788." The states, in their answer to this declaration, professed the strongest belief, "that no hostile intentions were conceived by any of the belligerent powers against them." The native phlegm of the Hollander begat, in the more peaceful and steady, an aversion to bustle and activity; and a rooted hatred of the court party induced numbers to dissemble the expectation of what they most ardently wished. Hence the frequent and just observation, that *we* had officially forced their high mightinesses even into a war of defence, against their obvious interest or inclination.

Great Britain, however, thought proper to take measures for her own security.—His majesty was accordingly advised to issue another proclamation, December 1, 1792, announcing the alarming intelligence,

“ that, notwithstanding the late proclamation of the 21st of May, the utmost industry was still employed by evil-disposed persons within this kingdom, acting in concert with persons in foreign parts, with a view to subvert the laws and established constitution of this realm; and to destroy all order and government therein; and that a spirit of tumult and disorder thereby excited had lately shewn itself in acts of riot and insurrection. And that, these causes moving him thereto, his majesty had resolved forthwith to embody part of the militia of the kingdom.” On the same day, another proclamation was issued for convening the parliament (which stood prorogued to the 3d of January) on the 13th of December; the law requiring, that if the militia be drawn out during the recess of parliament, and this it can only be in case of invasion or actual insurrection, parliament shall be assembled in the space of fourteen days. Bounties were now offered to landmen and seamen; naval armaments were put into preparation in all the dock-yards: the army was drawn into a focus near the metropolis; and the tower was put into a posture of defence.

On the meeting of parliament, the expressions of the first proclamation were repeated in his majesty's speech. It was intimated “ that his majesty had judged necessary to embody a part of the militia, and to call the parliament together within the time limited for that purpose.” It stated, as the grounds of these strong measures, “ the seditious practices which had been discovered, and the spirit of tumult and disorder shewn in acts of riot and insurrection, which required the interposition of a military force in support of the civil magistrate. The industry,” it asserted “ employed to excite discontent on various pretexts, and in different parts of the kingdom, appeared to proceed from a design to attempt the destruction of our happy constitution, and the subversion of all order and government; and that this design had evidently been pursued in

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connection and concert with persons in foreign countries. "I have," said his majesty, "carefully observed a strict neutrality in the present war on the continent, and have uniformly abstained from any interference with respect to the internal government of France; but it is impossible for me to see without the most serious uneasiness the strong and increasing indications which have appeared there, of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, as well as to adopt towards my allies, the states-general, measures which are neither conformable to the law of nations, nor to the positive stipulations of existing treaties. Under these circumstances his majesty thought it right to have recourse to those means of prevention and internal defence with which he was entrusted by law, and to make some augmentation of his naval and military force."

On moving the address, in answer to the speech, a memorable debate arose. Mr. Fox began by observing, "that the present was the most momentous crisis not only that he had ever known, but that he had ever read of in the history of this country; a crisis not merely interesting to ourselves and our own condition, but to all nations and to all men; and that on the conduct of parliament in this crisis depended not merely the fate of the British constitution, but perhaps the future happiness of mankind. His majesty's speech contains a variety of assertions of the most extraordinary nature. It was the duty of that house to inquire into the truth of these assertions, and in discharging this part of his duty, he should consider the speech from the throne as the speech of the minister, which his majesty's confidential servants had advised him to deliver; and as they were responsible for that advice, to *them* every observation of his should be addressed. I state it therefore," said Mr. Fox, "to be my firm opinion and belief, that there is not one fact asserted in his majesty's speech which is not false; not one assertion or

insinuation which is not unfounded. The leading and prominent feature of the speech is a wanton and base calumny on the people of Great Britain; an insinuation of so black a nature, that it demands the most rigorous inquiry, and the most severe punishment. The next assertion is, that there exists at this moment an insurrection in this kingdom. An insurrection!—where is it? where has it reared its head? Good God! an insurrection in Great Britain? No wonder that the militia were called out, and parliament assembled in the extraordinary way in which they have been—but where is it? To avoid involving the people in the calamity of a war, without at least ascertaining the internal state of the kingdom, and prevent us from falling into the disgrace of being, as heretofore, obliged perhaps in a week to retract every syllable that we are now called upon to say, he concluded with moving an amendment, simply pledging the house “that inquiry should be made into the facts, stated in his majesty’s speech.” After a debate of many hours, the house divided for the amendment 50, against it 290.

On the bringing up the report, on the succeeding day in the house of commons, the debate was resumed with fresh vehemence. Mr. Fox most severely censured the ministers for not having interposed the mediation of Great Britain, in order to preserve the peace of Europe. Had we protested against the project concerted at Pilnitz, and armed to prevent the execution of it, England must have acquired such an ascendancy in the councils of France as would have completely obviated all the subsequent causes of dissatisfaction. “If,” said Mr. Fox, “there exists a discontented or dissatisfied party in the kingdom, what can so much add to their numbers, or their influence, as a war, which increasing the public burthens till they become intolerable will give proportionable weight to their complaints? He wished therefore that war should be avoided, if possible—that negotiation should precede hostility. He was fully aware of the arrogant notions of ministers,

ters, who perhaps would not condescend to receive a minister from the French republic. If this were the case, let ministers fairly avow it—that the people of England might know how far the essential interests of the nation were sacrificed to a *punctilio*. Gentlemen should recollect that it was once fashionable to talk of ‘a vagrant congress,’ of ‘one Hancock,’ and ‘one Adams,’ and ‘their crew.’ But surely the folly of this language had been sufficiently proved. He then moved an amendment, “beseeching his majesty to employ every means of honourable negociation, for the purpose of preventing a war with France.”

The motion was opposed by Mr. Burke in a frantic speech, in which he affirmed, “that to send an ambassador to France would be the prelude to the murder of our sovereign.” Mr. Pitt was at this time not a member in the house, having vacated his seat by the acceptance of the lucrative sinecure of the cinque ports, void by the death of the Earl of Guildford, once so famous under the title of Lord North. In the absence of the minister, Mr. Secretary Dundas entered into a long and elaborate vindication of the measures of administration; and he concluded with a confident prediction, that “if we were forced into a war, it must prove successful and glorious.” The amendment was negatived without a division.

Not discouraged at the ill success of these attempts, Mr. Fox, on the 15th of December moved, “that a minister be sent to Paris to treat with those persons who exercise provisionally the executive government of France.” “This,” he said, “implied neither approbation nor disapprobation of the conduct of the existing French government. It was the policy and practice of every nation to treat with the existing government of every other nation with which it had relative interests, without inquiring how that government was constituted, or by what means it acquired possession of power. Was the existing govern-
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ment of Morocco more respectable than that of France? Yet we had more than once sent embassies thither, to men reeking from the blood through which they had waded to their thrones. We had ministers at the German courts at the time of the infamous partition of Poland. We had a minister at Versailles when Corsica was bought and enslaved.—But in none of these instances was any sanction given directly or indirectly by Great Britain to these nefarious transactions.”

In answer to the objection, that if we agreed to a negotiation, we should not know with whom to negotiate, Mr. Whitbread asked, with energetic animation, “if we knew with whom we were going to war? If there was no difficulty in deciding upon that point, how could we pretend to be at a loss to know with whom we were to make peace? Doubtless with that assembly, truly described by his majesty as exercising the powers of government in France.” The motion was in the end negatived without a division.

On the 17th of December, a memorial was presented by M. Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, in which he informs his lordship that the executive council of the French republic, thinking it a duty which they owe to the French nation, not to leave it in the state of suspense into which it has been thrown by the late measures of the British government, have authorized him to demand with openness, whether France ought to consider England as a neutral or hostile power; at the same time being solicitous, that not the smallest doubt should exist respecting the disposition of France towards England, and of its desire to remain in peace. In allusion to the decree of the 19th of November, Mr. Chauvelin says, “that the French nation absolutely reject that false interpretation, by which it might be supposed that the French republic should favour insurrections, or excite disturbance, in any neutral or friendly country whatever. In particular, they declare in the most solemn manner, that France will not attack Holland so long as that power adheres to the principles of
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her neutrality." As to the navigation of the Scheld, M. Chauvelin affirms it to be a question of too little importance to be made the sole cause of a war; and that it could only be used as a *pretext* for a premeditated aggression. "On this fatal supposition," he says, "the French nation will accept war: but such a war would be the war not of the British nation, but of the British ministry, against the French republic; and of this he conjures them well to consider the terrible responsibility."

To this communication Lord Grenville returned an answer, acknowledging the receipt of a *note* from M. Chauvelin, *stiling himself* minister plenipotentiary of France. He reminds him that the king, since the unhappy events of the 10th of August, (these events were, abolition of royalty, and declaring France a republic,) had suspended all *official* communication with France; and informs him, that he cannot be treated with in the quality and under the form stated in his *note*. Nevertheless, "under a form neither regular nor official," his lordship condescends to reply, but in a mode which could only tend to inflame the differences subsisting between the two nations, and which, far from accepting the concessions and explanations, made by France, sought only to discover new pretences of cavil and quarrel. His lordship says, "if France is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, she must shew herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandizement, and to *confine herself within her own territory*, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights." The relinquishment of her recent conquests being thus haughtily demanded of France as a preliminary of peace, it might be well supposed that negotiation was at an end. But the government of France, in the midst of their triumphs, discovered a degree of temper and moderation
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in their intercourse with England as surprising as it was laudable.

1793. In answer to the letter of Lord Grenville, a memorial was transmitted from M. le Brun, minister of foreign affairs, in the name of the executive council, dated January 4, 1793, framed in terms of singular wisdom and ability, and forming a striking contrast to the petulance displayed in the communication of the English minister. They begin with repeating "the assurances of their sincere desire to maintain peace and harmony between France and England. It is with great reluctance," say they, "that the republic would see itself forced to a rupture much more contrary to its inclination than its interest." In reference to Lord Grenville's refusal to acknowledge M. Chauvelin in his diplomatic capacity, the council remark, "that in the negotiations now carrying on at Madrid, the principal minister of his catholic majesty did not hesitate to address M. Bourgoïn, the ambassador of the republic at that court, by the title of minister plenipotentiary of France. But that a defect in point of form might not impede a negociation, on the success of which depended the tranquillity of two great nations, they had sent credential letters to M. Chauvelin; to enable him to treat according to the severity of diplomatic forms. The council artfully observe that the decree of the 19th of November had been misunderstood, and that it was far from being intended to favour sedition, being merely applicable to the single case where the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expressed, should call for the assistance and fraternity of the French nation. Sedition can never exist in the expression of the general will. The Dutch were certainly not seditious when they formed the generous resolution of throwing off the Spanish yoke; nor was it accounted as a crime of Henry IV. or to Queen Elizabeth, that they listened to their solicitations of assistance. As to the right of navigation

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on the Scheld, the council affirm, that it is a question of absolute indifference to England, little interesting even to Holland, but of great importance to the Belgians, who were not parties to the treaty of Westphalia, by which they were divested of that right; but when that nation shall find itself in full possession of its liberty, and from any motive whatever shall consent to deprive themselves of the navigation of the Scheld, France will not oppose it. With respect to the charge of aggrandizement, France they say, has renounced and still renounces all conquest; and its occupying the Netherlands will continue no longer than the war.— If these explanations appear insufficient, after having done every thing in our power to maintain peace, we will prepare for war. We shall combat with regret the English, whom we esteem, but we shall combat them without fear.”

At length this extraordinary business, the source of unnumbered calamities to this country, was brought to a crisis. Louis XVI. the mildest and most inoffensive of a long line of kings, was brought to trial, and sentenced to lose his life. He conducted himself with a firmness and christian resignation, which would have done honour to a martyr, and suffered the punishment of the guillotine on the 21st of January. His queen, the sister of the Emperor of Germany, his guiltless sister, and many of his friends, soon after followed him to the grave, by public authorised murders; while the dauphin, whose tender age, even in the opinion of the monsters who now presided over the destiny of France, would not sanction capital punishment, was left to die in prison; and the princess Maria Theresa Charlotta, the only remaining issue of Louis XVI. and Antoinetta of Austria, after suffering a long imprisonment, was set at liberty, and has since been married to her cousin the Duke d'Angoulême.

The parliament of Great Britain being sitting, when intelligence was received that the King of France had

been put to death, advantage was taken of the sensation which this melancholy event produced, to unite all parties in the vigorous prosecution of a war, for which preparations had long been making. Chauvelin, the accredited ambassador from Louis XVI. was ordered to quit the kingdom within eight days.

The death of the French monarch was indeed a disastrous and mournful event. It was well known that the executive council, and a great majority of the national convention, were eagerly desirous to avert this fatal catastrophe; but the violence of the Jacobin faction, and the savage rage of the populace, rendered it impossible. "We may," said M. le Brun to a confidential friend, "sacrifice ourselves, without being able to save the life of the king. In England no one attempted to justify the deed; "nor," says an animated writer of that time, "is it the season for extenuation now that the stream of prejudice flows strong, and the phantasm of a murdered king stalks before our affrighted imagination."

The British ministry were now determined on war: they appeared even more solicitous to colour the pretext for hostilities against France, than to obtain satisfaction for the acts of aggression complained of, as appears from the tenor of their proceedings. If any proof is wanting, we shall find it amply supplied by a letter from Lord Auckland, the English ambassador at the Hague, dated January the 25th, 1793, and presented to the states-general immediately on the departure of M. Chauvelin. In this letter, his lordship affirms to their high mightinesses, that "not four years ago some wretches, assuming the title of philosophers, had the presumption to think themselves capable of establishing a new system of civil society. In order to realize that dream of their vanity, they found it necessary to overthrow and destroy all received notions of subordination, manners, and religion, which have hitherto formed all the security, happiness, and consolation,

lation, of the human race. Their destructive projects have but too well succeeded. But the effects of the new system which they endeavoured to introduce served only to shew the imbecility and villany of its authors. The events, which so rapidly followed each other since that epoch, surpass in atrocity all which had ever polluted the pages of history. Property, liberty, security, even life itself, have been deemed playthings in the hands of infamous men, who are the slaves of the most licentious passions of rapine, enmity, and ambition." From the conduct of the English government at home, and the very high language and sentiments conveyed through their diplomatic organs abroad, the French now saw that every hope of peace was vanished. The convention therefore came to the resolution of anticipating the designs of the English and the Dutch, and, by a decree unanimously passed on the 1st of February 1793, declared the republic of France at war with the King of Great Britain, and the Stadtholder of Holland.

That the British court manifested a friendly disposition to the French revolution, prior to the 10th of August 1792, when the royal power was suspended in France—is one of those assertions of the English minister, which admits of very considerable doubt. If, instead of their declarations, we judge from the conduct of the British cabinet, we shall find very intelligible indications of dislike even to the French constitution of 1789. Lord Auckland, to his letter above quoted to the states-general, says, "it is not quite four years since certain wretches assuming the name of philosophers, &c." Here it is perfectly clear that he comprehends in his vulgar and violent censure the limited monarchy settled by the constitution of 1789, as well as the republican form of government established in 1792; and when it is considered that this part of his lordship's conduct was, at a subsequent period, publicly defended and proved by ministers in

parliament, little doubt can remain of the real sentiments of the British court respecting the French revolution of 1789.

Another pointed instance of the secret hostility of the English government towards the French constitution of 1789, appears in the correspondence between Lord Grenville and M. Chauvelin in May 1792. The latter invariably styles Louis XVI. "the king of the French," which was the title decreed by the national assembly, and the former as invariably styles him "His most christian majesty," which was the title during the old despotism.

But the melancholy death of the French monarch having considerably alienated the affections of Englishmen from the French revolution, and the idea of internal danger having also at this time been excited by the alarming reports of plots and insurrections, a general abhorrence of the French and of French principles had seized the public mind, and prepared the nation to receive the declaration of war on the part of France with general satisfaction, as an event to be desired rather than dreaded. Having thus secured the concurrence of a great portion of the people, the minister lost no time in obtaining the sanction of parliament, to measures of extensive and vigorous hostility. Accordingly, on the 11th of February, 1793, the following message from his majesty was read to the house of commons. "His majesty thinks proper to acquaint the house of commons, that the assembly now exercising the powers of government in France, have, without previous notice, directed acts of hostility to be committed against the persons and property of his majesty's subjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the most positive stipulations of treaty; and have since, on the most groundless pretences, actually declared war against his majesty and the united provinces. Under the circumstances of this wanton and unprovoked aggression, his majesty has taken the necessary steps to maintain

maintain the honour of his crown, and to vindicate the rights of his people; and his majesty relies with confidence on the firm and effectual support of the house of commons, and on the zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people, in prosecuting a just and necessary war, and in endeavouring, under the blessing of Providence, to oppose an effectual barrier to the farther progress of a system which strikes at the security and peace of all independent nations, and is pursued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and justice. In a cause of such general concern, his majesty has every reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers who were united with his majesty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an interest in preventing the extension of anarchy and confusion, and in contributing to the security and tranquillity of Europe."

Mr. Fox and his friends were resolved to exert their utmost abilities to ascertain the real and precise grounds of the war, that if possible every obstacle to amicable accommodation might be removed, and at all events the public might be fully informed of those objects for the attainment of which the nation was about to expend its blood and treasure. Accordingly, on the 18th of February, Mr. Fox, with this view, presented to the house the following resolutions. First, That it is not for the honour or interest of Great Britain to make war upon France on account of the internal circumstances of that country; for the purpose either of suppressing or punishing any opinions and principles, however pernicious in their tendency, which may prevail there; or of establishing among the French people any particular form of government.—Secondly, That the particular complaints which have been made against the conduct of the French government are not of a nature to justify war in the first instance, without having attempted to obtain redress by negotiation.—Thirdly, That it appears to this house, that in the late negotiation

negotiation between his majesty's ministers and the agents of the French government, the said ministers did not take such measures as were likely to procure redress, without a rupture, for the grievances of which they complained; and particularly that they never stated distinctly to the French government any terms and conditions the accession to which, on the part of France, would induce his majesty to persevere in the system of neutrality.—Fourthly, That it does not appear that the tranquillity of Europe, and the rights of independent nations, which have been stated as grounds of war against France, have been attended to by his majesty's ministers in the case of Poland, in the invasion of which unhappy country, both in the last year and more recently, the most open contempt of the law of nations, and the most unjustifiable spirit of aggrandizement, have been manifested, without having produced, as far as appears to this house, any remonstrance from his majesty's ministers.—Fifthly, That it is the duty of his majesty's ministers, in the present crisis, to advise his majesty against entering into engagements which may prevent Great Britain from making a separate peace, whenever the interests of his majesty and his people may render such a measure advisable, or which may countenance an opinion in Europe, that his majesty is acting in concert with other powers for the unjustifiable purpose of compelling the people of France to submit to a form of government not approved by that nation.—Mr. Fox alleged, that his object in making these motions was to procure a declaration of the precise grounds upon which gentlemen had voted for the war; for from many circumstances he was well persuaded that the real objects of our ministers in going to war were those which they disclaimed, and that those which they avowed were only pretexts. The motion occasioned a very heated debate; the house divided, 44 for the motion, against it 226.

The erection of barracks in different parts of the kingdom,

kingdom, which the legal authorities of this country had ever considered as unconstitutional, induced Mr. M. A. Taylor, on the 22d of February, to bring the opinions of Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Pelham, Lord Gage, Judge Blackstone, &c. to prove the illegality of the measure, Mr. Taylor said, "that the whole system of ministers shewed an evident preconcerted design to curb and overawe the people by the bayonet and the sword, instead of applying, if necessary, the wholesome correction of the laws of England; and this, in his conscience, he believed to be their intention. He did not mean to enter into any argument with respect to the king's rights in virtue of his prerogative of erecting barracks; but, before proceeding to erect them, it was undoubtedly the duty of his majesty's ministers to have informed the house of their intention to do so, and of the reasons which induced them to think it a measure either prudent or necessary." He said, "that in the motion which he should take the liberty of submitting to the house, he should adopt the words of judge Blackstone," and he concluded with moving, "that it is the opinion of this house that the uniform and persevering opposition of our ancestors from time to time, to the erecting barracks in this country, was founded upon a just sense of the true principles of our most excellent constitution, and that the opinion has been justified, upon high legal and political authority, that the soldiers should live intermixed with the people, in order that they might be connected with them; and that no separate camp, no barracks, no inland fortresses, should be allowed." After a very warm debate, the minister moved the order of the day, and the original motion was negatived without a division.

The attorney-general, on the 15th of March, moved for leave to bring in the traitorous correspondence bill, of which the following is the outline. "That it was in future to be made high treason, First, To supply the existing government of France, or any persons
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in alliance with them, with arms or military stores, or to purchase any thing for them. Secondly, To purchase lands of inheritance in France, to invest money in any of the French funds, or to lend money on any security in France. Thirdly, To go from this country into France without licence of his majesty and the privy seal. Fourthly, For a British subject to land in Great Britain without a passport or leave, or else to deliver himself to the next magistrate, to undergo an examination, and faithfully to disclose where he had been, whither he was going, the reason of his journey out and home, and give security to any amount required for his good behaviour. Fifthly, To underwrite insurances upon ships and goods bound from France to any part of the world."

This bill was combated by the members of opposition through every stage of its progress. On the motion of leave for its introduction being made by the attorney-general, Mr. Fox commenced the attack on its principles and object. "He rose," he said "to take the first opportunity of expressing his disapprobation of the bill. If the law of treason was doubtful, a bill to explain it might be necessary; but he, who had never before heard of those doubts, had no reason to think the law obscure, and therefore could not think a bill necessary to explain it. If the law of treason wants explanation, then the question will be, whether the provisions of the bill now proposed conformed to that intention. The first part that struck his mind, was the prohibiting any person in this country from purchasing lands in France. British subjects had frequently possessions in foreign countries, and no evil, which he had ever heard of, had hitherto resulted from that circumstance; and he was firmly convinced that nothing at this moment could be more dangerous than holding out that idea. Something of this kind had been proposed during the American war, respecting property held in Pennsylvania; but the minister of that day

day rejected with disdain a proposition so unjust and impolitic. We had always encouraged foreigners, even in time of war, to deal in our funds; and we had always held their property sacred; and he would ask whether encouragement afforded on both sides to deal in the funds, would operate most in favour of this country or of France; of that which had most, or that which had least credit? Surely at present men would not be so blind to their own interests as to prefer French security to English. As to the next prohibition in the bill, the supplying the French with arms, if that part of the law was to be thoroughly revised, he should perhaps question whether it would not be of advantage to this country to trade with its enemies, and sell them every article of arms, whilst we had prompt payment, at our own price, for them. Respecting Englishmen going to France without a passport," Mr. Fox said, "he should pass it by as the least exceptionable clause in the bill. But as to the provision against Englishmen returning to their country, it was monstrous enough to make the learned gentleman ashamed to state it. It was giving power to the king to banish, during the war, every British subject now in France. Though he may return in certain cases by giving security, who are to be judges of the amount of that security? This was to be left to a magistrate—Here one man was to be put under the discretion of another, who might render his return impossible by exacting security to an amount that could not be given. As to the clause which prohibited the insurance of French ships, he had less objection to it than several others, because it appeared to him to be merely foolish, for the balance would be in favour of the English, who would in that case be the underwriters, because the premium was always supposed to be more than the risk. He concluded with saying that the whole of the bill was unnecessary, and many of the parts of it repugnant to the common principles of justice."

Mr. Solicitor General defended the propriety of the bill, "The statute of Edward the Third, he asserted, left the law of treason in some doubt, because the nature of treason was in some measure to be determined by existing circumstances; and of consequence, there had been continual declarations of what, in particular instances, constituted treason. As to the purchase of lands, he stated, that one of the causes of the calamities of the American war, was the private interest of individuals, in consequence of their professions, which induced them to take a part contrary to their sentiments."

Mr. Erskine, in an animated speech, replied to the crown lawyers. He said, "that the fundamental principles of the law ought not to be shaken by unnecessary acts of the legislature. He remarked the tendency of the present bill to throw suspicion upon the people. The attorney general comes forward with a bill, explanatory of the statute of Edward III. to tell them what circumstances in the present period would be deemed treasonable. Respecting that part of the bill which prohibits persons from purchasing land in France, it was altogether needless in the present state of that country; and instead of prohibiting persons from purchasing in the French funds, ministers should rather take care that a calamitous war might not prevent from purchasing in our own."

Mr. Burke rejoiced that, "in times of public emergency, the ministers, and legislators of this country, had recourse to the wholesome principles of our ancestors. At the time of the revolution in 1688, the next chapter to the bill of rights, contained an act empowering his majesty to take up and imprison all suspected persons. He considered this precedent as quite sufficient. Those who believed the constitution was secure without the present bill, argued on false principles. No period occurred in history more detrimental to its vital principles than the present; and government

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ment merited applause and gratitude, in proportion to their vigilance and activity. You are now at war," said Mr. Burke, "with an enemy who has urged war with your constitution, and who has been but too successful in establishing among you a dangerous domestic faction."—After a general exclamation of No! No! No!—Mr. Burke continued, "that gentlemen might now deny the assertion, but, at a future period," said he, "I will name them to their confusion though not to their shame! And if it were a house as it is a committee, I would, perhaps, embrace the opportunity of communicating my information and sentiments thereon."—The bill was carried by 154 against 53.

During the time that the above bill was in agitation, a proposal was made to Lord Grenville by the French executive council, for putting an end to the calamities of war by amicable negociation, and a passport was demanded for M. Maret, who was to be invested with full powers to treat. The letters from M. le Brun were brought over by an English gentleman, with proper attestations of their authenticity, and by him delivered to the noble secretary. It is said, that M. Maret had it in his instructions unequivocally to offer to our ministry these three points: First, That the navigation of the Scheld should be given up. Secondly, That the French troops should not approach the Dutch territories within a given distance. Thirdly, That the decree of the 19th of November should be either altered or repealed. No notice whatever was taken of this application.

Mr. Grey once more brought forward the great question of a parliamentary reform. Twenty-three petitions, praying a reform, had been presented to the house of commons, signed by three thousand persons; and on the 6th of May, Mr. Grey made his motion. He began by stating the difficulties he had to encounter in his attempt to procure a parliamentary reform; "for," said he, "while the numerous and respectable petitions

before the house in some measure facilitate my way, by proving the various arguments which the subject affords, yet they, at the same time informed the house, that they were not the real representatives of the people, which probably will be a very disagreeable confession to extort from the members themselves. Respecting the hackneyed objection of this being an improper time for reform, it would be equally rational in times of prosperity and adversity, in times of war and peace. If our situation happens to be prosperous, it is then asked whether we can be more than happy, or more than free? In the season of adversity, on the other hand, all reform or renovation is deprecated, from the pretended risk of increasing the evil and pressure of our situation. Hence it would appear that the time for reform never yet had come, and never would come. By arguments such as these had reform been hitherto combated; and by the like he believed it ever would be attacked, until some dreadful convulsion should take place, which might threaten even the constitution itself with annihilation. Many had been the unsuccessful attempts to bring about a reform; a proper time had never yet been found for it. In 1733, a motion was made in that house, by Mr. Bromley, for a repeal of the septennial act, and that motion was seconded in a very able speech by Sir William Windham. Other attempts had been made in the years 1745, 1758, 1782, 1783, and 1785. Mr. Pitt himself had brought the business forward in the last three of those years. The same objection as to time was then made, and combated by the right honourable gentleman strongly and powerfully in argument, but without effect." When Mr. Grey came to take notice of burgage tenures, and the splitting of messuages and hereditaments, for the purpose of multiplying voters, contrary to an act of King William for preventing such practices, he quoted an opinion given judicially by Lord Thurlow, when
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sitting as chancellor in the house of lords, in an appeal from Scotland, respecting the rights of voters at elections. His lordship said, 'If the right of election could be tried by law in a court of law in England, as it was in Scotland, he was convinced that an English court of law would not be satisfied with such a mode of election as this; that a nobleman's steward should go down to a borough with ten or twelve pieces of parchment in his hand, containing each the qualification for a vote, and having assembled a sufficient number of his master's tenants round a table, should distribute among them the parchments—then propose a candidate—and afterwards collect these parchments, and declare his lord's friend duly elected for the borough.' These elections Lord Thurlow called a mockery." Mr. Grey concluded with moving, that the petition (of the Friends of the People) be referred to a committee.

Sir William Young declared it had been his opinion ever since he began his political career, that the country had too much of a commercial turn, and that its commerce would soon become more than a match for its virtues. The petitioners proposed a measure that evidently tended to throw weight into a scale which preponderated too much already. He asserted that boroughs bought and controlled by men of property, formed the only balance to the commercial influence which was increasing by too rapid strides, and which ought to be checked. He denied that true representation was founded either upon property or numbers abstractedly considered. He was therefore of opinion that the petitions were ill founded, and that no alteration ought to take place.

Mr. Whitbread spoke in favour of reform. In stating some of the gross and shameful abuses in borough elections, he was betrayed into the use of some obnoxious expressions, and was called to order; upon which he addressed the speaker in the following terms: "Sir, am I too free in what I am saying? am I acting against
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your orders? it may be so; but if these things should meet you ear upon the steps of this house, as you descend from the chair, can you contradict them? Sir, you cannot. I do know, and the petitioners who signed the petition now upon your table are ready to prove, that many members are nominated by individuals to serve in this house. Refute the charge! ‘We cannot,’ you say. ‘Apply the remedy then!’ ‘We will not consent to that.’ “Then, at least, tell the people of England—We have investigated your statement, and we find it to be true; but we can prove to you that the country is as well governed, and that things go on as well now as they would do if the representation were reformed.” The house divided; for referring the petitions to a committee 41, against 282.

No subject of importance sufficient to demand particular attention occurred during the remainder of the session; and on the 21st of June the king prorogued the parliament. In his speech on this occasion his majesty noticed “the rapid and signal successes which had in an early period of the campaign attended the operations of the combined armies; the respectable and powerful force which he had been enabled to employ by sea and land, and the measures which he had concerted with other powers for the effectual prosecution of the war; all of which afforded the best prospect of a happy issue to the important contest in which we are engaged.”

Having recorded the leading parliamentary transactions of 1793, the history of the first campaign, in which England was engaged as a principal in the armed confederacy against France, now demands our attention. In the faithful execution of this important task, a succession of such novel and astonishing scenes with present themselves, as are certainly unequalled in ancient or in modern times. Whether we regard the vast armies in motion—the activity and extent of their operations—or the number of human beings who fell
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the victims of war,—all are on the scale of magnitude awful and afflicting. Nor can the eventual result of the campaign appear less wonderful to the contemplative mind than the mighty range of great and unexampled events with which it was preceded. We see France convulsed by internal factions,—betrayed by treachery—pressed on all sides by the first military powers in the world—braving dangers singularly perilous and formidable—surmounting every difficulty—and overpowering all opposition by the ardour and enthusiasm of liberty.

The brilliant and rapid success of the French arms had, by the latter end of 1792, extended the dominions of the republic from the Alps to the Rhine, from Geneva to the mouth of the Scheld. The victory of Jemappe secured the conquest of Brabant and Flanders; and in the course of the winter General Dumourier proposed to the executive council to take possession of Maestricht, without which he alleged he could neither defend the Meuse, nor the territory of Liege. He purposed to take and hold the place without entering into further hostilities with the Dutch, and engaging, by manifesto, to restore it at the end of the war. The executive council, much to their honour, declined the proposal, and expressly commanded the general to preserve the strictest neutrality towards the united provinces. This circumstance affords an additional proof that the French had no intention to provoke hostilities with England or her allies, before the unfortunate dispute with the British ministry, the particulars of which have been already detailed.

Hostilities, however, being actually commenced, the possession of Holland became an object of the utmost moment to the French, as it would be followed by advantages decisive of the war in their favour. Had Dumourier continued faithful, there is no doubt but that the project would have been attended with complete success: but, on the other hand, it is more
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than probable, that if certain arrangements had not been previously made with this celebrated commander, Great Britain and Holland would not have been so precipitate in entering into the dispute. Thus, it appears, that both parties were deceived in the commencement of the war. The French flattered themselves with the immediate conquest of Holland; while the allies, depending on the treachery of Dumourier, were looking forward with confidence to no less an object than the immediate subjugation of France. Circumstanced as Dumourier was at this period, it is difficult to ascertain what was his plan of the campaign. He has himself intimated, that it was long his fixed intention to effect an escape into some other country; and, with such a design predominant in his mind, it is not to be supposed that he would be very earnest in promoting the success of his expedition. The general, in his Memoirs, has stated two plans; the first of which was proposed by the refugee Hollanders who had formed a small revolutionary committee at Antwerp, and who recommended an irruption into Zealand: the other was a plan suggested by himself, and which he really meant to pursue, while he appeared to favour that of the Batavian committee; and this was, to advance with a body of troops posted at Mordyek, and masking Breda and Gurtruydenberg on the right, and Bergen-ap-Zoom, Steenberg, Klundert, and Williamstadt, on the left, to effect a passage over an arm of the sea to Dort, and thus penetrate at once into the heart of Holland.

In the mean time General Miranda was ordered to advance with a part of his army before Maestricht, but was instructed by Dumourier not to attempt a regular siege at so unfavourable a season, but to assault the place with bombs and red-hot balls; and, after receiving intelligence that the commander in chief passed Mordyek, to leave the continuance of the siege to General Valence, who was expected from Paris, and march with the utmost expedition to Nimeguen, and, in passing

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ling the duchy of Cleves, to intercept the Prussians, should they have anticipated his arrival there. Venlo was at the same time to be attacked by General Champmorin, an experienced engineer. Maestricht was invested early in February, by General Miranda, with 12,000 men on the banks of the Meuse and 6,000 on the right; and by the 23d of that month the works were all completed. On the following day the French general summoned the Prince of Hesse, who commanded there; but his answer was a direct refusal to capitulate. The French then commenced a heavy fire from their batteries, and, according to the account of the general, the town was on fire in several places. While the French were constructing their works, the garrison made two sallies, but with little success.

In the mean time, General Dumourier assembled his army in the vicinity of Antwerp. Previous to his entering the Dutch territories, he published a manifesto addressed to the Batavians, as he thought proper to term them, exhorting them to emancipate themselves at once from the tyrannical yoke of the stadtholder. The French army under Dumourier consisted of twenty-one battalions, only two of which however were troops of the line; he estimates them himself at about 13,700 men, including cavalry and light troops. This army entered the Dutch territories on the 17th of February, but it was the 22d before the general was enabled to proceed from Antwerp to join it. His first movement was to block up Breda, by means of his right division under General d'Arcon; and Colonel le Clerc, with the left, was ordered at the same time to block up Bergen-op-Zoom. The governors of those places abandoned all their outworks; and Breda, at the time of its attack, was in a state of inundation. On the 23d of February, Count Byland, the governor of Breda, was summoned to surrender; and on his refusal, General d'Arcon, without opening the trenches, mounted two batteries, with four mor-

tars and four howitzers, very near the town, on the side of the village of Hage. The bombardment continued for some hours, but ceased at night. On the succeeding day the French renewed the attack with great spirit; and one of Dumourier's aides-du-camp being dispatched to renew the summons, with assurances that the general was preparing to bring up his whole force, the governor was terrified into a capitulation. The garrison was allowed the honours of war, and only twenty men were lost on both sides. The fort of Klundert was taken by Dumourier on the twenty-sixth. It was defended with great valour by Lieutenant-colonel Westphalian; but his garrison amounted to only 150 men.

Dumourier next dispatched General Berneron to the attack of Williamstadt, and General d'Arcon to Gertruydenberg, and on the fourth of March the latter place surrendered on capitulation. At this place ended the triumphs of Dumourier. Williamstadt was closely invested from the 23d of February to the 16th of March, 1793, during which time it was twice summoned to surrender; but the gallant Major-general Boetzlaar, its governor, gave for answer, That he would defend it with the last drop of his blood. Upon this, a most violent bombardment and cannonade took place, with red-hot balls, bombs, and grenades. Only two houses in the town were burnt by the enemy's shells; not one however escaped being pierced through with cannon-shot. The principal street, leading from the great church to the main guard, was filled on each side with the ruins of the houses. A twenty-four pound shot passed through the dial on the top of the church, and carried the half of it away. Near a hundred large trees, growing within the ramparts, were shivered to pieces by shots and shells. Several red-hot balls passed through the roof of the governor's house. The Prince of Orange's arms were battered down from the inside of the main-guard gate by a
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Dumourier's Army driven from the Siege of Williamstadt, by the Dutch Garrison, the English Gun-boats, and the Siren British Frigate, commanded by Captain. Manley.

twenty-four pound shot from a battery on the other side the town. Nine of the heaviest brass ordnance on the Dutch ramparts were either dismounted, or the carriages shot to pieces; principally from the incessant fire of a masked battery, which the French had raised behind a small wood on the shore of the Maeze, to the S. E. of the fort. On the 16th of March, about ten in the morning, the French set fire to their works, and began to retreat, having sustained a heavy cannonade from the garrison, and being galled and mowed down by a well-directed fire from the English gun-boats and Syren British frigate, commanded by Captain Manley, which took them in flank, and did prodigious execution. At this instant the brave governor dispatched a detachment from the garrison to harass their rear, which they so well effected as to take several pieces of cannon, two mortars, and a great quantity of ammunition and siege-utensils, which were safely conveyed into the town. It is remarkable that, during the whole of this tremendous siege, only twelve inhabitants and eight soldiers were killed:—the French it is conjectured, lost about 800 men. General Boëtelaar, the gallant defender of this fortress, was at this time in his eighty-sixth year.

The distresses of the French during the siege, particularly on the Maese side, must have been almost insurmountable; having no shelter even from the inclemency of the weather, but in damp holes cut in the beach, and being only slightly screened by reeds taken from the river side. During the erection of their works, they were exposed between the two severe fires of the fort batteries, and those of the Syren frigate and gun-boats, for two days and nights successively. The horrors of the scene they left behind are almost too shocking for recital; the mangled bodies of the French lying uninterred upon their redoubts; and even that of an officer, who last fell, all with the ears and fingers cut off, and carried away as relics of

triumph!—formed a spectacle every way painful to humanity.

About this time, two thousand British guards were sent over to Holland under the command of the Duke of York; and a body of twelve thousand Hanoverians were ordered to march immediately to the same quarter, to be also under his royal highness's command. To add to the embarrassments of France, Spain was now supposed ready to accede to the armed confederacy. After the melancholy death of Louis, it may well be supposed that the King of Spain could not be very friendly disposed towards the French nation; and, pressed by the combined powers, it is not improbable that he meditated hostilities. The convention, however, determined to anticipate his declaration, and on the 7th of March passed a decree of war against his most catholic majesty.

Before reviewing the reverse of fortune which the French experienced in the Netherlands, it may be proper to advert to the disastrous expedition which was undertaken against Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia. A French fleet under the command of Admiral Truguet, which had sailed from Toulon, anchored before the town, and commenced a vigorous cannonade against it on the 24th of January; but as all the transports with the land-forces were not arrived, the admiral ordered the firing to cease on the 29th. The camp volunteers, being impatient to land, after using every argument to convince them of the extreme danger of making such an attempt without a sufficient force, M. Truguet at length consented, and gave orders for their landing on the 14th of February. Four ships and two bomb-ketches were posted before the town, and nearly the same force was placed between the town and a small mountain defended by batteries; another came to anchor before the town to batter it, and three ships and three frigates were employed in covering the landing of the troops. Of all these ships, the Themistocles alone did execution; but she was
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set on fire by a red-hot ball, and the captain was wounded in the leg, and died four days after. In the night the Themistocles was obliged to retire. The Patriot, which kept up a continual fire for three days and three nights, expended all her ammunition, and had eight men wounded, some of them in a dangerous manner. The Juno frigate had seven wounded. The descent was effected under the command of General Casa Bianca, with fifteen hundred troops of the line, and three thousand national volunteers; another descent was to be made at some distance, and a certain signal was agreed on. This signal was observed in the island, and the troops heard the following words pronounced through a speaking trumpet:—"Citizens come on shore; we have put to flight the enemy." The troops, however, suspected the delusion, having observed with their glasses, that the invitation came from persons in the Sardinian uniform. The second descent therefore was countermanded. Casa Bianca, however formed a camp at the distance of a league from the town, with fifteen pieces of cannon and some mortars; but the troops were seized with an instantaneous panic, they mistook the word of command, and the patrols fired upon each other; the soldiers imagining themselves too weak in number, requested to be re-embarked, and some of them without orders began to retire towards the shore. In this disagreeable situation, the general was compelled to re-embark his troops, and it was with great difficulty that he was able even to save his cannon. When the troops returned on-board, Truguet immediately set sail. The Leopard, a ship of the line, ran on shore, but the crew were saved. A tartan, which ran on shore also, was burnt by the Sardinians.

This failure of the attack upon Sardinia was a trivial misfortune, in comparison with the hasty retreat and final defection of Dumourier in the Netherlands. At this period the French armies were in a reduced
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and impoverished state; partly from the return of the volunteers and national guards, but chiefly from the gross neglect of the French ministers. As they were, however, still numerous, General Miranda continued to press the siege of Maestricht with a considerable force; while General la Noue, with the covering army, was encamped at Herve. The head-quarters of General Valence were at Liege, while his out-posts extended to Aix-la-Chapelle and the banks of the Roer. On the first of March, General Clairfait, having passed the Roer in the night, attacked the French posts as well on the side of Durn as on that of Juliers, and compelled them to retreat as far as Alderhaven, with the loss of two thousand men, twelve pieces of cannon, thirty ammunition waggons, and the military chest. The following day the archduke attacked several French batteries, and took nine pieces of cannon.

On the third, the Prince of Saxe Cobourg obtained a signal victory over the French, and drove them from Aix-la-Chapelle even to the vicinity of Liege. Early in the morning the Austrians possessed themselves of the heights about Aix, from which they kept up an incessant fire; and at one o'clock a formal action took place in the town. The French formed themselves into a square in the market-place, but, upon the approach of the chasseurs of Badul, they began to give way; and, being at the same moment vigorously attacked on all sides, a most dreadful carnage ensued. A French officer, well mounted, attempted to make his escape, in order to prevent a detachment of national guards, then marching to the spot, from falling into the hands of the allied army; but the bridle of his horse was seized, he was shot through the body, and the detachment he meant to save were cut to pieces by the Prussians. The French fought with great bravery, and the numbers killed affords a striking instance of the obstinacy of the combat; 4000
French



P. Marillier delin.

J. Pajot sculp.

Battle of Aix-la-Chapelle.

French were left dead upon the spot, 1600 were made prisoners, and twenty-two pieces of cannon were taken.

The defeat of the third, was the signal for raising the siege of Maestricht. On the fourth, General Miranda learned, that the allies were advancing with more than thirty-five thousand men towards Wick, with the evident intention of throwing succours into Maestricht. The general, therefore, had scarcely time to withdraw the body of three thousand men, which were posted there under the command of General Leveneur, before they were attacked by the advanced guard of the allies. The bombardment was however continued in the usual manner; and Maestricht suffered considerably from the conflagration. At twelve o'clock at night Miranda gave orders for a general retreat, having sent before him all the artillery, which arrived safe at Tongres, being covered with a rear-guard of four thousand men. On the succeeding day the French were again attacked at Tongres, and forced to retreat to Hans and St. Tron, where Miranda and Valence formed a conjunction; the latter having evacuated Liege, and abandoned it to the allies. They were also joined by the troops under General Isler, Lamorliere, and Champmorin; and after remaining there till the 8th, to refresh, and having repulsed the advanced guard of the allies who attempted to dislodge them, they moved on that day towards Tirlemont.

In this critical situation of affairs, Dumourier ought to have abandoned his enterprise against Holland, and moved with his whole force to the support of the flying generals. On the contrary, he left his army under the command of General De Flers, "whom (he says) he knew to be incapable of discharging the trust," with orders to take up his quarters at Dort. The army in Holland was totally dispirited by the departure of the general; the Dutch navy in the mean time was re-inforced, and the Prussians advanced by the way of Bois-le-duc. Instead of proceeding to Dort, De Flers

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was compelled to throw himself into Breda, with six battalions and two hundred cavalry, and the rest of the army retired to Antwerp. The satisfaction expressed by the army in Liege on being rejoined by their former victorious commander is scarcely to be described; order and confidence seemed to be at once established, and the hopes of the soldiers anticipated a renewal of the glories of Jemappe. The strength and vigour however of the French army were gone, and their commander was no longer the same Dumourier who had triumphantly over-run the Netherlands in the preceding year.

On the 15th of March the Austrians attacked Tirlemont, in which the French had only four hundred men, and which they carried after an obstinate resistance, the town being large and incapable of defence. On the following day, however, they were again driven by Dumourier from that place, and compelled to retreat to St. Tron. On the 18th, a general engagement took place near Neerwinden; the French army being covered by Dormael, and on the right by Landen. The action continued with great obstinacy on both sides, from seven in the morning till five in the evening, when the French were obliged to fall back, and the Austrian cavalry, coming up, put them entirely to flight. The loss in each army was great. The French displayed considerable courage and address, but were overpowered by numbers, and perhaps by the treachery of their own commanders, and by the superior skill and discipline of their enemies. The whole of the loss Dumourier states at more than three thousand; and that of the imperialists at one thousand four hundred. The French also lost a great part of their cannon.

The battle of Neerwinden was fatal to the French; for, besides the loss just stated, the general observes that upwards of six thousand men immediately deserted, and proceeded towards Brussels and France. The
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retreat of the French was, however, made in good order, and they continued skirmishing till they reached Golsenhove, which is about one league south of Tirlemont. Here the French formed in order of battle, and the two armies rested the whole night upon their arms. On the 19th but little was done, and on the night of the 20th, Dumourier took possession of the heights of Cumtich, behind Tirlemont, from which place he had time to withdraw his magazines. As Dumourier, however, if we may trust his own account, clearly perceived that he could not long maintain himself in this position, and that it afforded no protection either to Louvain or Brussels, he availed himself of the 20th, while the Austrians remained before Tirlemont, to pass the Welpé and encamp near Bantersem, having his right to Op and Neerwelpé, and his left on the heights, and in the woods in front of Zwellenberg. Here he was attacked by the advanced guard of the allies, who were however repulsed. While Dumourier was engaged in repelling this assault, Danton and La Croix arrived in the camp, as commissioners from the convention; and after receiving some explanations from him relative to the letter which he had written to the convention, on the affairs of Belgium, they returned.

On the 21st, Dumourier judged it proper to take post nearer Louvain, and on the following day he was attacked. The action was bloody, and lasted the whole day; but the Imperialists were compelled to retreat with great loss. On the evening preceding this action, Dumourier sent Colonel Montjoye to the headquarters of the Prince of Cobourg, to treat respecting the wounded and the prisoners. "He there," says Dumourier, "saw Colonel Mack, an officer of uncommon merit, who observed to Colonel Montjoye, that it might be equally advantageous to both parties to agree to a suspension of arms." Dumourier, who had deeply considered the situation of his army, sent

Montjoye again to Colonel Mack on the 22d, to demand if he would come to Louvain, and make the same proposition to Dumourier. Colonel Mack came in the evening. The following articles were verbally agreed to: First, That the Imperialists should not again attack the French army in great force, nor Dumourier again offer battle to the Imperialists. Secondly, That on the faith of this tacit armistice, the French should retire to Brussels slowly, and in good order, without any opposition. And lastly, That Dumourier and Colonel Mack should have another interview after the evacuation of Brussels, in order to settle further articles that might then be mutually deemed necessary. Either distrustful of Dumourier, however, or from other motives, the Imperialists, under General Clairfait, attacked an advanced guard of the French, posted at Pillenberk; in consequence of which, the latter were obliged to abandon Louvain, and Dumourier transported his wounded, and the flour for his army, in boats to Mechlin. Yet Dumourier, it appears, continued faithfully to observe, on his part, the terms of the agreement; and he allows that the Prince of Cobourg so far adhered to them, that he remained three days at Louvain, sending only small detachments to hang on the rear-guard of the French.

On the 25th of March, Dumourier and his army passed through Brussels. The citadel of Antwerp was the only fortified place that he was able to keep, which he garrisoned with two thousand men, and six months provision, in order to preserve a communication with the troops which had been left at Breda and Gertruydenberg. His design, he says, was to have formed a strong line without the territory of France, to the left by Namur, Mons, Tournay, Courtray, Antwerp, Breda, and Gertruydenberg, till he could recruit his forces; but the line in one part was broken by the necessary evacuation of Namur.

On the 27th, Dumourier arrived at Ath, where he received

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received orders from the convention to arrest the Colonel of the 73d regiment of infantry, and General Miranda. On the same day Colonel Mack arrived at Ath. A further agreement was then entered into between that officer and Dumourier, the terms of which were, "That the French army should remain sometime longer in the possession of Mons, Tournoy, and Courtray, without being harassed by the imperial army; that Dumourier, who *did not conceal from Colonel Mack his design of marching against Paris*, should, when their designs were ripe for execution, regulate the motions of the Imperialists, who should only act as auxiliaries in the accomplishment of their plan; that in the case of Dumourier's having no need of assistance, which was greatly to be desired by both parties, the Imperialists should not advance farther than the frontier of France, and that the total evacuation of Belgium should be the price of this condescension; but if Dumourier could not effect the re-establishment of a limited monarchy of himself, he should indicate the number and the kind of troops which the Imperialists should furnish, to aid in the project, and which would be entirely under Dumourier's direction. Dumourier made Colonel Mack acquainted with his design of marching the following day to Tournay, with the march of General Neuilly to Mons, and of the army of Holland to Courtray. It was finally decided, that, in order to combine the operations of the imperial troops under the Prince of Cobourg and those under Prince Hohenloe at the time when Dumourier should march to Paris, Condé should be put into the hands of the Austrians as a pledge; that the Austrians should garrison the town, but without any pretensions to the sovereignty, and on the condition that it should be restored to France at the conclusion of the war, and after an indemnity should have been settled between the two parties; but that all the other towns belonging to France should, in the case of the constitu-

tional party needing the assistance of the Imperialists, receive garrisons, one half of which should be French troops, and the other half Imperialists, under the orders of the French. General Valence, General Thouvenot, the Duke de Chartres, and Colonel Montjoye, assisted at this conference."

Dumourier arrived on the 28th at Tournay, and here he learned that General Neuilly's division had abandoned Mons, and thrown themselves into Condé and Valenciennes. The designs of Dumourier did not, however, pass unsuspected at Paris: three commissioners from the executive power had therefore been dispatched under pretence of conferring with the general concerning the affairs of Belgium, but really with a view of sounding his intentions. The interview was violent. Dumourier expressed himself in terms of invective against the Jacobins: "They will ruin France," said he; "but I will save it, though they should call me a Cæsar, a Cromwell, or a Monk." The commissioners carried the conversation no farther. They departed, and returned next day, determined to dissemble, in order the better to discover the extent of his views. Dumourier now became more explicit. He said, that the convention were a herd of ruffians, whom he held in abhorrence—that the volunteers were poltroons; but that all their efforts would be vain. "As for the rest," added he, "there still remains a party. If the queen and her children are threatened, I will march to Paris—it is my fixed intention—and the convention will not exist three months longer." The commissioners asked him by what means he could replace the convention? His answer was, "The means are already formed." They asked him whether he did not wish to have the last constitution? He replied, "that it was a foolish one; he expected a better from Condorcet: the first constitution with all its imperfections was preferable. When they asked him whether he wished to have a king? He replied

replied—"We must have one." He also told them, that he was employed to make peace for France; that he had already entered into a négociation with the Prince of Cobourg for an exchange of prisoners, and for the purpose of withdrawing from Holland those eighteen battalions which were on the point of being cut off. When they informed him, that those negotiations with Cobourg, and the peace which he wished to procure for France, would not change republicans into royalists, he repeated the assertion that he would be in Paris in three weeks; and observed, that since the battle of Jemappe he had wept over his success in so bad a cause.

The conversation of Dumourier with the commissioners was no sooner made public in Paris, than the suspicions of those who entertained apprehensions of his treachery were converted into certainty. The general himself had been previously ordered to the bar of the convention; he was superseded by Bournonville, the minister of war; and four commissioners were sent to the army of the north, with powers to suspend and arrest all generals and military officers whom they should suspect, and bring them to the bar. As the commissioners wished to proceed with caution, they halted at Lille; and dispatched a summons to Dumourier to appear in that city, and answer the charges against him. He had, however, already arranged his plan—the Rubicon was passed—and he returned only for answer, that he could not leave the army for a moment, while the enemy was cutting him off from every retreat—that he would only enter Lille to purge it of those traitors who infested it—and that he valued his head too much to submit it to an arbitrary tribunal.

On the 29th of March, Dumourier learned that Antwerp had been abandoned by the troops which he had stationed there; and that they had effected their retreat to the territories of France. On the following

ing day, he resolved to raise the camp at Tournay, and occupy that of Maulde. In the mean time he sent torders, through the medium of Colonel Mack, to the garrisons of Breda and Gertruydenberg, to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to march back to France. He also ordered General Miacziuski, who was at Orchies, to march with his division to Lille, and arrest the commissioners of the convention; but that general, imprudently divulging the object of his mission, no sooner entered the city than the gates were shut upon him; he was sent to Paris, and brought to the scaffold. By the patriotism of General Ferrand and Ecuyer, Dumourier was also frustrated in an attempt to render himself master of Condé and Valenciennes.

To arrest an able general at the head of his army was indeed a bold and daring measure. The commissioners, however, resolved to hazard the attempt, and accordingly on the *first of April* proceed to St. Amand, the head-quarters of Dumourier; and, being admitted into his presence, explained to him the object of their mission. After a conference of some hours, the general, not finding that he could persuade them to favour his intentions, gave the signal for a body of soldiers who were in waiting, and ordered the minister of war, Bournonville (who was sent to supersede him,) and the commissioners, Camus, Blancal, La Marque, and Quinette, immediately to be conveyed to General Clairfait's head-quarters at Tournay, as hostages for the safety of the royal family.

Dumourier, notwithstanding his splendid talents, appears, however, to have grossly mistaken the disposition of his army. They might be disposed to resent the affront which was offered to their general, in ordering him to appear as a criminal at Paris; but when he came to propose to them the restoration of royalty in the person of the prince, and to turn their arms against their country, the prejudices or patriotism of Frenchmen

Frenchmen assumed their wonted influence, and they felt it their duty to disobey. Dumourier lost no time in dispatching a messenger, to acquaint Colonel Mack with the arrest of the commissioners, and to appoint the time and place for a conference to conclude the terms of their treaty. During the night he composed a manifesto addressed to the army, which he digested and put in order the following day.

On the morning of the third, Dumourier went to the camp, and addressed the troops, who, he says, appeared to approve his conduct. He then proceeded to St. Amand, in which place was the train of artillery, who also expressed their satisfaction. At St. Amand he thought it prudent to sleep, for the purpose of marking his confidence in the troops there. The whole of the third, he says, passed with as much success as he could expect, except that slight murmurs were heard among some of the battalions of the volunteers. Early on the 4th, he left Thouvenot at St. Amand, and departed himself for Condé; but had not approached that fortress within half a league, before he was met by an officer dispatched by General Neuilly to inform him, that the garrison was in the greatest fermentation, and that it would not be safe for him to enter the place. He sent back the officer with an order to Neuilly, to send the eighteenth regiment of cavalry to escort him. He had just before overtaken a column of volunteers marching towards Condé, who however did not then attempt to molest him. While they were yet in sight it was that General Neuilly's messenger arrived; and he had scarcely delivered his message to the officer, when the head of the column quitted the high road, and ran towards him with shouts and menaces, and an universal exclamation of "Stop, stop." Dumourier, now perceiving himself in the most imminent danger, mounted a horse belonging to a domestic of the Duke de Chartres, and escaped through a dreadful discharge of musketry, which the whole column

column poured upon him and his associates. Finding it impossible to gain the camp of Maulde, he proceeded along the Scheld, and passed the ferry near the village of Wikers, on the imperial territory. From this place, he continued his route on foot to Bury, where in the evening he met Colonel Mack, and passed the night in digesting the proclamation of the Prince of Cobourg, which appeared on the fifth with that of General Dumourier. It was also agreed, at this conference, that as soon as the general should be master of Condé, he should deliver it to the Austrians to serve as a magazine and place of arms, in case of aid being demanded by Dumourier.

The proclamation of Dumourier contained a recapitulation of his services to the French republic; a statement of the cruel neglect which his army had experienced in the preceding winter, and of the outrages practised by the Jacobins towards the generals of the republic, and particularly towards himself; the reasons which induced him to arrest the commissioners; and a glowing picture of the evils to be apprehended from a continuance of anarchy in France. It concluded with an exhortation to the French, to restore the constitution of 1789, 1790, and 1791; and a declaration on oath that he bore arms only for the restoration of that constitution; and that as soon as he had effected that purpose, he would for ever abandon every public function, and in solitude console himself with having contributed to the happiness of his fellow-citizens. The manifesto of the Prince of Cobourg, which accompanied the preceding, reflected great honour on that general; and it can never be sufficiently regretted that the terms which it held forth were ever departed from by the allied powers. It passed high encomiums on the disinterested and patriotic views of General Dumourier. It announced that the allied powers were no longer to be considered as principals, but merely as auxiliaries in
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the war; that they had no other object than to co-operate with General Dumourier in giving to France her constitutional king, and *the constitution she formed for herself*. On his word of honour he pledged himself, that he would not come upon the French territory to make conquests, but solely for the ends above specified. The prince declared farther, that any strong places which should be put into his hands should be considered as sacred deposits, to be delivered up as soon as the constitutional government should be established in France, or as soon as General Dumourier should demand them.

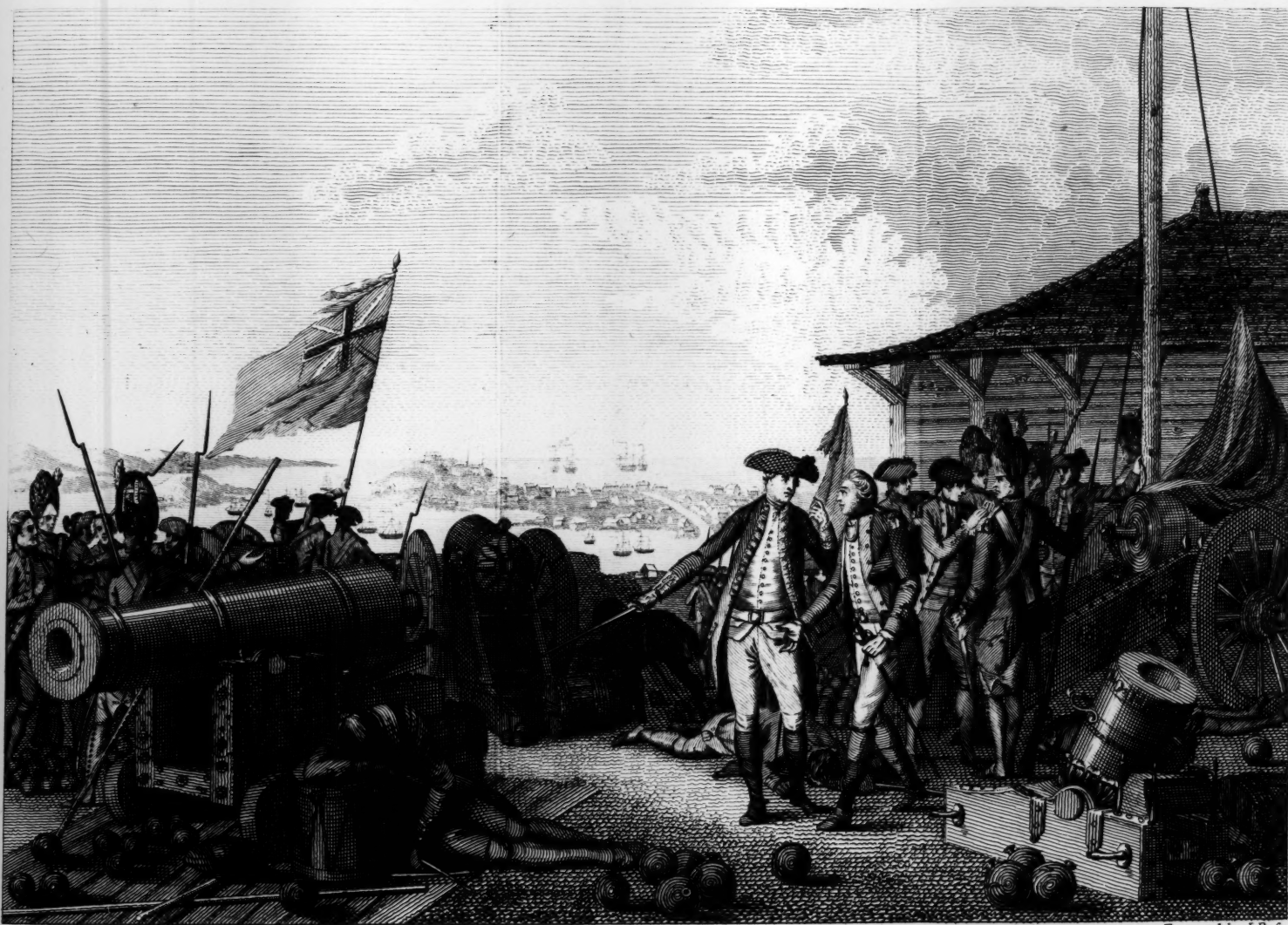
On the 5th of April, at day-break, Dumourier proceeded with an escort of fifty imperial dragoons to the advanced guard of his camp at Maulde. He harangued his troops; but, though there was no open opposition, he observed some indications of that spirit, and several factious groups assembled in different parts. His next design was to go to St. Amand; but as he was entering the city, he was met by an aid-de-camp, who informed him that during the night the corps of artillery, excited by some emissaries from Valenciennes, had risen upon their general, and were marching to that fortress. The money, however, and the equipage of the officers, which remained in the city without a guard, he commanded to be conducted to Rumegies. The desertion of the corps of artillery was the signal for a general revolt. General Lamorliere, on whom Dumourier placed some dependence, immediately took his departure for Valenciennes. Dumourier was himself at Rumigies when he heard of the defection of the troops in camp. Nothing was now left but to provide for his personal safety. He mounted his horse, attended by General and Colonel Thouvenot, the Duke of Chartres, Colonel Montjoye, and a few others of his staff. He was followed in the course of the day by about seven hundred horse and eight hundred infantry. The military chest which Dumourier had removed

was recovered by a party of French chasseurs, and brought to Valenciennes. At Bury, Dumourier found Colonel Mack, and proceeded with him to Mons. It was agreed that the Imperialists should immediately lay siege to Condé. The rank of *feldzeugmeister* (general of artillery) was conferred on Dumourier; but the suspicions of the allies never permitted him to enjoy it in any active capacity.

The little success attending this transaction should have taught the combined powers the impossibility of conquering France; and the little dependence to be placed on the vain hopes with which they had deluded themselves respecting the co-operation of the French people in effecting a counter-revolution. They had seen a whole army, who had been manifestly attached to their general, under whom they had conquered and bled, refuse to obey that general when he proposed to them to take arms against their country, though under the specious pretext of restoring a constitution of which it was probable many of them approved. That general too was a man of transcendent abilities. He certainly had not been well treated by the ministers and the convention; and his case had in the commencement undoubtedly interested the army in his behalf. He was supported in these measures by officers whom the soldiers could not but love and respect; and yet the attachment to the cause of liberty and their country rose in their minds superior to every other passion.

Some time previous to this, Admiral Macbride, with a small squadron of English ships, had been sent against Ostend; he attacked the castle on the 30th of March 1793, and in a few hours took possession of the whole garrison. The expedition was conducted with so much secrecy, that at twelve o'clock at noon the French had not the smallest idea of an approaching enemy; but an English squadron appearing off, and standing in for the harbour, they soon became greatly alarmed.

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Drawn by Paon.

Engraved by J. Paff.

*Representation of taking and Seizing the French Stores and Garrison of Ostend,
by a Detachment from Admiral. Macbride's March 30th 1793.*

They fired from the batteries at the English vessels; but, seeing them resolute in standing in, they spiked their guns, and retreated with the utmost precipitation. The terror of the French was much increased by the inhabitants, who told them that each of the cutters had 500 British troops on-board. Before the French left the town, the inhabitants assembled to cut down the tree of liberty; when the French dragoons of the rear-guard galloped in amongst them, and cut down all before them: a number of persons were desperately wounded.—Only one vessel escaped out of the harbour of Ostend. She was loaded with oil, and was chased into Dunkirk by one of the English cutters. The rest, to a considerable number, loaded with corn, provisions, stores, &c. were made prizes to the British ships of war; the garrison, together with the French magazine of naval and military stores, stand of colours, cannon, baggage, &c. were taken possession of by the English officers, soldiers, and seamen, in the name of his Britannic majesty: and the English colours were immediately hoisted in the castle and garrison over those of the French, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants.

A congress of the representatives of the combined powers was assembled at Antwerp on the 8th of April 1793. At this congress were present the Prince of Orange and his two sons, and his excellency Vander Spiegel; the Duke of York and Lord Auckland on the part of Great Britain; the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, Counts Metternick, Staremburg, and Mercy Dargenteau; with the Prussian, Spanish, and Neapolitan, envoys. Dumourier requested permission to attend, but was peremptorily refused that honour.—On the decision of this assembly the peace of Europe and the fate of nations depended. The particulars of what passed on this important occasion have never yet fully transpired. It is, however, well known, that a plan of active operations against France was resolved on. The Prince of Cobourg immediately unsaid all that he had

set forth under the pledge of his honour with so much solemnity on the 5th; and a scheme of conquest was formally announced in a new proclamation, issued by himself on the 9th of the same month. It was obvious that this step could have no other tendency than to destroy all confidence in the professions of the allied powers. It induced the French to believe that the whole of the proclamation of the 5th was a mere delusion, only intended to impose on their credulity.

The situation of France was at this period singularly critical and dangerous. By the defection of Dumourier the whole army of the north was dissolved, and in part disbanded; while that of the allies lay upon the frontier, numerous, well disciplined, and victorious. On the side of the Rhine, the Prussians advanced in immense force, and threatened the siege of Mentz, even before the works for its defence were completed. But, however formidable the attack from without might appear, it was perhaps less to be dreaded than those alarming internal commotions which took place at the same time. To effect completely the subversion of the republican government in France, it was a part of the great plan to excite by a bold and instantaneous effort the royalist party, who lay concealed in different parts of the country, but chiefly in the adjacent provinces of Brittany and Poitou, now distinguished by the names of La Vendée and La Loire.

Notwithstanding the severe decrees of the convention, immense numbers of the emigrants had secretly resorted thither in the winter of 1792, as the vicinity of these departments to the sea afforded a fair prospect of fresh supplies of men and military stores, as well as of the co operation of the naval powers. It appeared like a concerted plan, that this insurrection should break out almost at the instant of Dumourier's defection; as if by two tremendous explosions the new republic was at once to be overwhelmed in ruin.

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The first disturbances were considered by the convention as merely the result of a repugnance in the people to the modes which had been adopted for recruiting the army; but before the latter end of March, the insurgents assumed a more formidable appearance as to numbers, and their proceedings evinced the rebellion to be the result of previous arrangement. They were distinguished by white caps, and by other counter-revolutionary ensigns, and their watch words were *Vive le roi*, and *Vivent les Anglois!* They professed to act by the authority of Monsieur, the regent of France, and in several rencounters with the national guards were victorious, particularly in an action which took place near Chantanay, which was immediately succeeded by the plunder of that city. On the 23d of March the convention were informed that the insurgents had made themselves masters of the districts of Cholet, Montaigne, and Clifton, and that they had defeated General Marce, who had been sent to quell them. The city of Nantes was at the same time in a state of siege, and the number of royalists encamped before that city were estimated at not less than 40,000. In the beginning of April, General Berruyer was appointed to command against the royalists. Notwithstanding the efforts of the convention, however, before the end of that month they possessed themselves of an extent of fifty leagues of country, and had defeated the republicans in two pitched battles, in which they took an immense quantity of artillery and military stores, and a number of prisoners.

The commissioners, in the mean time, who had been sent to the army, omitted no means of restoring order and invigorating the spirit of the French army. The standard of the republic was no sooner set up, than the battalions which had dispersed from the camp of Maulde resorted to it; and General Dampierre, who had evinced his patriotism by his resistance to the orders of Dumourier, was provisionally appointed by the commissioners to the chief command. In less than
a week,

a week, Dampierre had restored order and discipline to their disorganized troops, and was enabled to lead them to action, if not to victory. On the 13th of April the advanced posts of the French army under that general were attacked in six different points, but the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss. General Dampierre at the same time was enabled to resume the camp of Famars. On the 14th and 15th, the advanced guard was again assailed; on the former of those days, they were compelled by superior numbers to give way, but on the succeeding day they were victorious. The firing continued from four in the morning till eight in the evening, with as much violence as at the battle of Neerwinden. On the 23d, the Austrians again attacked the French near Maubeuge, but after a conflict of ten hours were repulsed with considerable loss; and on the first of May General Dampierre attempted to dislodge the enemy from several villages of which they were in possession, but in his turn experienced a repulse. On this occasion the Austrians had 600 killed and 2000 wounded, and the French had 300 killed and 600 wounded.

An action of a more serious nature took place on the 8th of May. At one o'clock in the morning the four battalions of guards, one battalion of the Hanoverians, and the Austrian cavalry, headed by the Duke of York, began their march from Tournay for Maulde, which place they reached about eight in the morning. They took post in the camp, and the Prussians immediately marched on to St. Amand and Vicogne. Dampierre advanced to dislodge them; and at nine o'clock the action commenced, which continued, during the former part of the day, with great vigour on both sides. At five, however, the Prussians began to be hard pressed by the numbers of the French, and sent to the Duke of York for assistance. The Coldstream, the third regiment, and the grenadiers and light infantry, immediately marched out, leaving the

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first regiment and the Hanoverians in the camp. The Coldstream made an immediate attack upon the French with the utmost ardour and spirit. They repulsed them, and were vigorously pursuing their success, but found themselves unexpectedly exposed to the fire of a French battery. They coolly received the whole fire of the French, both grape-shot and musquetry, which they returned with great effect; but, finding it impossible to carry the battery, they retired in perfect order. In this attack one officer (Ensign Howard) was wounded, two serjeants were killed, and three wounded; twenty-seven rank and file were killed, and forty-two wounded. The other battalions received orders to advance, and were posted in the wood. The French mean-while kept up a very brisk fire upon the road by which they advanced, but fortunately only two men were slightly wounded by it. The British artillery fired with very great effect, and was extremely well served. The troops remained at the posts which they had taken in the woods till it was dark, and then marched back to St. Amand. The first attack on the part of the French had commenced at seven in the morning. The whole was not over till nine in the evening. General Dampierre, who commanded the French, was struck by a cannon ball, which cut his thigh quite off. He was borne from the field by his own soldiers, who, as well as the Prussians, appeared much concerned at this dreadful accident. He died on the night of the 9th leaving the command in the hands of General Lamarche. In this action the Austrians lost in killed and wounded 500 men, and the Prussians 300: of the English troops, who were engaged, and who suffered greatly, no official return was made. The loss of the French was estimated at 4000.

From this period on the 23d, little of importance occurred. On that day it was determined by the allies to attempt to dislodge the French from their fortified camp on the heights of Famars, which covered and protected

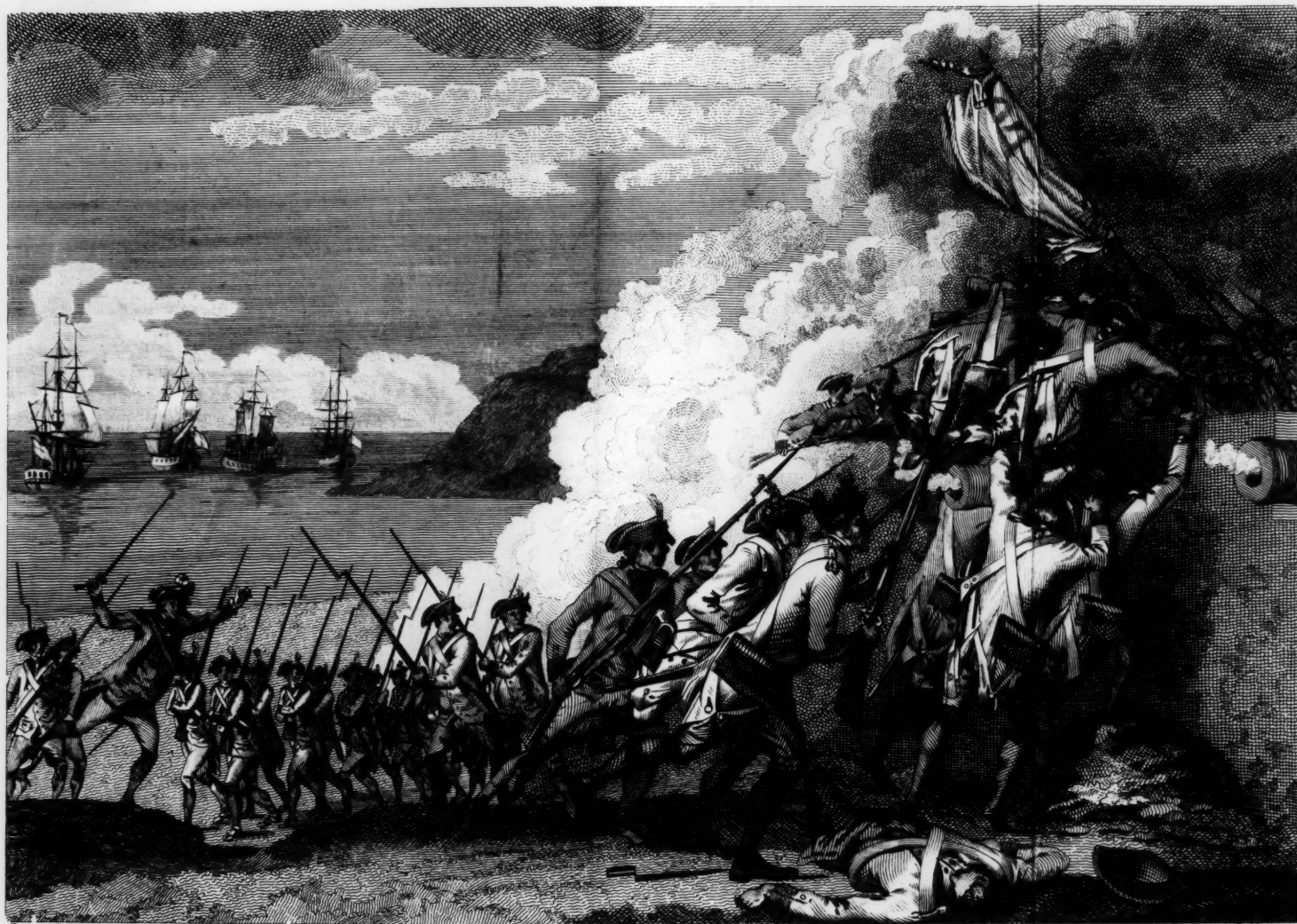
protected the town of Valenciennes. At day-break the British and Hanoverians assembled under the command of the Duke of York, and the Austrian and German auxiliaries under the Prince of Cobourg and General Clairfait. A thick fog prevented for some time the advance of the troops; but the engagement soon became general, and continued through the whole of that day; the French maintaining their ground with great resolution and courage. The superiority of the allied armies, and spirited behaviour of the British troops, manifested itself in a very early part of the engagement, whereby the French were driven from several of their redoubts. The enemy was attacked by four columns of the British troops, one of which was commanded by the Duke of York, whose object was to turn the right of the enemy, which he effected in a masterly manner, without one British officer having suffered on the occasion. The loss of the British troops, though much distinguished on this day, was very trifling indeed, there being no officer either killed or wounded, and only 16 non-commissioned officers and privates killed. The fine Hanoverian regiment, called the garde du corps, behaved most gallantly, and suffered in proportion, having three of its officers killed, four wounded, and from sixty to seventy privates killed. The Duke of York then advanced within a small distance of the works; but, observing from the disposition of the French that they could not be carried without considerable loss, he determined to defer the attack till day-break on the following day. In the course of the night, however, the French, apprehensive of the consequences, and probably much weakened by the action, abandoned their camp, and withdrew partly into Valenciennes, while another party retired to Denain, towards Bouchain and Cambray. No official return was made of the loss of the allies; but on both sides it must have been very considerable. The success on the 23d enabled the allies to lay formal siege to Valenciennes.

ciennes. Condé had been invested from the beginning of April, and the communication entirely cut off between that place and Valenciennes. To re-establish that communication was the object of General Dampierre on the 8th of May, when he received the wound of which he died.

While these affairs were transacting in the north, but little of importance occurred in other parts. In the beginning of May, General Custine, who commanded the army of the Rhine, formed a design of cutting off a body of seven or eight thousand men who had advanced as far as Reinzabern; but, to succeed, it was necessary to amuse the Prussians in all parts, and to destroy the effect of the cavalry and infantry which they had near Landau. Had he been to retain the command of this army, he said he should have deferred that enterprise till the commencement of June, and then the army, better exercised, would have been in a condition to execute it completely; but reflecting that he was about to depart and take upon him the command of the army of the north, he determined to attempt an action, to prevent the Prussians from taking advantage of their excellent position. He therefore sent orders to General Houchard to attack in the rear Lemberg and Carlberg with the army of the Moselle; while Pulli should keep in check, and attack, a Prussian corps who had advanced; and while General Sulek, with nine battalions and some cavalry, should advance towards Anweiler. The same day the garrison of Landau had orders to occupy the banks of the canal of Anweiler, the vineyards and village of Nufderf, with several other posts, and to give the Prussians reason to apprehend that they would be attacked in the rear, in case they should attempt any movements. He also caused a report to be spread in the Prussian army, that the cavalry of the army of the Moselle had arrived, as well as part of the artillery of Strasburg. In the mean time General Ferrier, who commanded

forty battalions, was ordered only to shew himself to the enemy till he should hear that the engagement had commenced and to attack them in the wood of Rhein-zabern, and the Austrians who were in it beyond the village.

Notwithstanding these orders, Custine observes, that he did not see his troops appear till eleven o'clock, at which time General Dircmann had commanded a retreat, because the troops were fatigued, and could neither procure provisions nor drink. The general himself began to march at eight o'clock in the evening, with twenty-six battalions and eight regiments, to the heights near Insheim; but several unavoidable delays prevented him from arriving at that place till five in the morning. The advanced guard, under the command of General Landremont, kept back the enemy, and prevented them from quitting the forest of Gemersheim. While General Landremont was thus engaging the Austrian army, and preventing them from advancing, the main army extended itself to the heights of Rulshcim, and proceeded as far as that village. Custine charged two divisions of dragoons with vigour, who fled after sustaining considerable loss; among the number of the dead were three officers. The general observed, that had it not been for the infatuation of a battalion, who mistook the French cavalry for that of the enemy, this day would have been glorious for the troops of the republic; they answered all attempts to rally them, only by discharges, and it was with great difficulty they could be prevailed upon to resume their ranks. The general was informed that this event was occasioned by the commander, who began the cry of treachery. He was arrested, and afterwards destroyed himself. "This day which ought to have been so memorable," added Custine, "terminated by the taking one piece of cannon, and a very great number of prisoners." The Prussians were soon after enabled to form the siege of Mentz. At this period,



Drawn by Godeffroy

Engraved by J. Pigo.

*The Capture of Tobago by Major General Cuyler, and Vice-Admiral
Sir John Laforey.*

period, a degree of treachery seems to have pervaded every part of the French territory. On the 2d of April, the popular society of Toulon denounced the Corsican general Paoli as a traitor; he was cited to appear at the bar of the convention, but excused himself; and the persons who were sent to arrest him declared that the service was too dangerous to be attempted.

The evils that inevitably follow in the train of a great revolution, were felt throughout the whole extent of the French territories; but in no quarter more severely than in their West-India islands. At the beginning of the year 1793, the island of Martinico was in a state of insurrection. The majority of the white inhabitants were determined royalists, while the negroes and people of colour were furious republicans. To the island of St. Domingo two commissioners were dispatched, while the Gironde party was in power, for the purpose of restoring peace and tranquillity. But these commissioners, Polverel and Santhonax, rather appeared in the character of apostles of discord, than of peace. They united with the the people of colour, and a shocking series of assassinations, pillage, and imprisonments, ensued, which compelled the majority of the white colonists to seek shelter in America, or in the English West-India islands. It is peculiarly painful to be obliged to add, that numbers of these wretched exiles, in flying from the tyranny of their own countrymen, were intercepted and plundered by British privateers.

The island of Tobago was taken by a British squadron under the command of Vice-admiral Sir John Laforey, on the morning of the 15th of April. Tobago is one of the Caribbee islands in the American ocean, situate twenty miles north-east of the island of Trinity, and one hundred and twenty south of Barbadoes; from which place the expedition sailed. The troops were under the command of Major-general Cuyler. A detachment of royal artillery, nine com-

panies of the fourth battalion of the 60th regiment, and two flank companies of the 9th regiment, (under the command of Major Baillie,) composed the whole of the force. "The Trusty, Nautilus, and Hind, schooners, being insufficient for the reception of the troops," says General Cuyler in his dispatches, "I accepted the offer of Captain Spencer, of the merchant-ship Hero, to convey part of the 60th regiment. On the 12th of April we sailed: on the 14th, at one in the afternoon, we arrived in Great Courland bay. The necessary orders having been given for the disembarkation and disposition of the troops on landing, the whole was on-shore by three, together with twenty-five marines from the Trusty, commanded by Major Bright. We immediately advanced within sight of the enemy's fort, whence I sent a summons to M. Monteil, lieutenant-colonel of the 25th regiment, and commandant of the island, to surrender. He refused."

The situation of the enemy's works, which they had lately been strengthening to the utmost of their power, was much stronger than had been expected and our numbers were unequal to the operations of a siege. Seeing there was no time to be lost, the disposition of attack was ordered by the general to take place in the night. The two light companies of the 9th and 60th regiments, under the command of Major Gordon, (who gallantly requested permission to leave the command of his own regiment to lead the light infantry,) were to be supported by the two grenadier companies under the command of Major Baillie, and the fourth battalion of the 6th regiment under the command of Captain de Visme; the reserve of the marines under Major Bright; the artillery to remain with their guns.

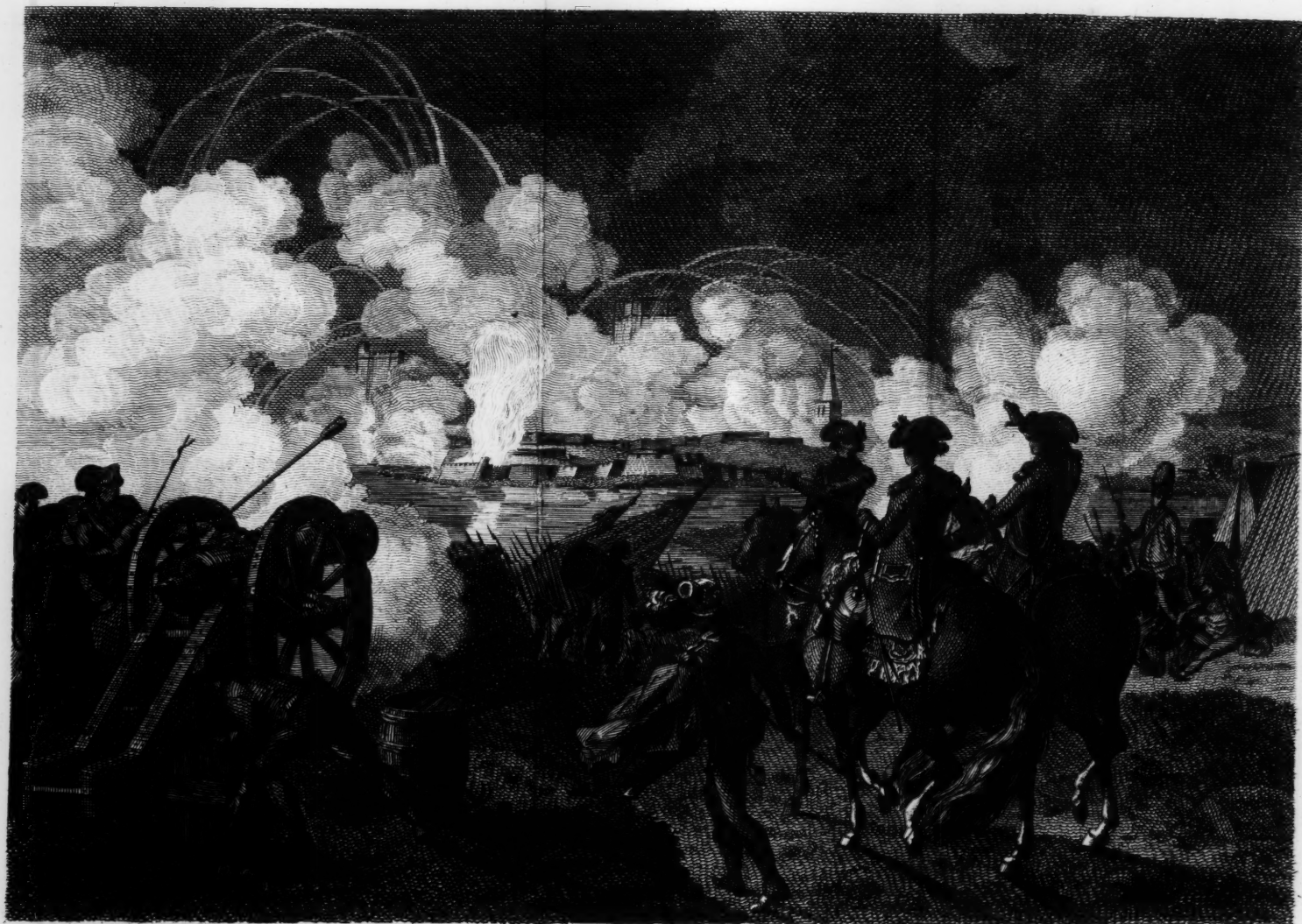
It was now about three o'clock in the morning; and, as the only chance of success was storming the works in the dark, Major Gordon began the attack. The fort began a very warm fire of grape-shot, but nothing

thing could withstand the bravery and coolness of the British troops; they never attempted to fire a shot, but carried every thing with their bayonets. They got into the ditch of the fort, where they found the rampart high and perpendicular, whereas it had been represented to General Cuyler, that they could run up the ramparts of the fort. The men were very much fatigued, and the enemy were keeping up a tremendous fire of grape-shot. After a halt of a few minutes Major Gordon called, "God save the king, follow me;" which was answered by the men with three cheers, and up he went, and a corporal followed, and they pulled up the colours, and about a dozen men by their firelocks. See the Plate. The first four were wounded and fell down again, but there were soon about twenty men more up, lying on the slope of the parapet along-side of him, close to the guns (eighteen pounders) which were firing over them. As soon as they found a sufficient number of men up, they charged into the battery, drove every man from the guns, and formed till they were joined by all the rest of the men, and then for the first time began to fire upon the French, who were drawn up in front of their barracks, and firing from all quarters of the inner square. As soon as Major Gordon found all his men up, he ordered the firing to cease, and to charge. In a few minutes M. Monteil, the governor of the island, called for quarter, and delivered up his sword. To the honour of the British soldiers be it told, that, after their commanding officer called out that the governor had surrendered, there was not a person wounded. They were occupied until daylight securing prisoners, who were more than double the number of the assailants.

Encouraged by the disputes which existed between the royalists and republicans in Martinico, Admiral Gardner attempted a descent upon that island also, and landed there with about 3000 men. The attempt, however, proved fatal only to the royalists, as he found,
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on his arrival, the republican party too strong, and was obliged to reembark his troops, even before he could convey away from certain destruction the whole of the devoted party, who had probably invited him to undertake the expedition. But it was taken next year.

In Europe the allied powers were chiefly employed, during the remainder of the campaign in the blockade of Condé, Valenciennes, and Mentz. The town of Condé was invested (as has been already stated) early in April, by a large body of the allied forces, and the works were completed by the 27th. The town was, however, not provided with a sufficient quantity of provisions to sustain a long siege: the governor (General Chancel) therefore, about this period, ordered the women and children to quit the place; but the Prince of Wirtemberg compelled them again to take refuge in the fortrefs. A few days after, the governor sent them out a second time, but the Austrians, with a brutal barbarity that would disgrace the savage tribes, killed many of these defenceless creatures even in the very act of supplicating for mercy, and the governor, from motives of humanity, was obliged to receive the rest. From this period, the garrison appear to have existed in a state of extreme distress till the 1st of June, their chief subsistence being horse-flesh. At that time they attempted to establish a redoubt upon the road from Condé to Lacoque, in order to dislodge the Austrians from the latter place. After an obstinate resistance, they were however forced back into the town, and the work was demolished. From this to the first of July, nothing of importance occurred. On that day a negociation was opened for a capitulation; but the governor conceived it necessary to dispatch a messenger to the convention, and another to General Custine, who at this time had assumed the command of the northern army; and, the terms not proving acceptable, the negociation was broken off. On the 10th of July, the



Drawn by Godefroy.

Engraved by J. Poir.

*The Bombardment of Valenciennes, which Surrendered
to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, July 27, 1793.*

the garrison, after enduring all the rigours of famine, were obliged to surrender as prisoners of war. They had originally amounted to 4000 men, but at the time of the capture were reduced to 1500 fit for service.

The victory of Famars enabled the allied forces to invest closely the town of Valenciennes. On a summons being sent to General Ferrand, the governor, he returned a polite but spirited answer; and from the first commencement of the works, the besiegers experienced a heavy fire from the garrison. On the 1st of June General Custine arrived to take the command of the armies of the North and the Ardennes, then encamped at Bouchain; but he found himself unable to render any effectual relief to Valenciennes. Above 14,000 men of the besieging army were employed, for the greater part of the siege, in erecting works and repairing the batteries. From the first to the fifth of June, a very brisk fire was kept up from the fortresses; and on the latter of these days, the French attacked the advanced posts of the allies, but were repulsed. In the course of the siege, a material difference of opinion existed between the English engineer, Colonel Moncrief, and M. Ferraris, the chief engineer of the emperor. The British officer was for planting batteries immediately under the walls of the city, instead of approaching it by regular parallels. M. Ferraris however contended that the work of the great Vauban was not to be treated with so little respect; and his opinion was adopted by the council of war. On the morning of the 14th of June, the trenches were opened. The British commander then summoned the garrison; but receiving an unsatisfactory answer, the artillery began to play upon the town with great vigour, and in the course of the night, above 500 red-hot balls were poured in among the inhabitants. Towards the beginning of July the besiegers were able to bring 200 pieces of heavy artillery to play without intermission on the town, and the greater
part

part of it was reduced to ashes. The smallness of the garrison, compared with the extent of the fortifications to be defended, prevented General Ferrand from attempting frequent sorties. In one which the garrison made on the 5th of July, however, they were very successful, and killed several of the enemy, and spiked some cannon. The most singular circumstance in the history of this siege is, that a considerable part of the war was carried on under ground; mines and countermines innumerable having been formed both by the besiegers and besieged. The principal of these on the side of the former were one under the glacis, and one under the hornwork of the fortress; these mines were completed and charged on the 25th of July, and in the night between nine and ten o'clock were sprung with the greatest success. The English and Austrians immediately seized the opportunity to throw themselves into the covered way, of which they made themselves masters. The die was now cast, and on the 26th the Duke of York again summoned the place, which surrendered on capitulation the following day. The Duke of York took possession of it in behalf of the Emperor of Germany.

During the whole of the siege, General Custine was not able to make any attempt of moment for the relief of the place, and a few skirmishes only took place between the out-posts. In the duchy of Luxemburg an action of a more serious nature occurred on the 9th of June. The French, under General Laage, attacked the Austrians under General Schroeder, near Arlons, and obliged them to retreat with great loss to Luxemburg. The eminence on which the Austrians were encamped was guarded by thirty pieces of cannon, arranged on batteries in the form of steps, and defended by eight thousand men. These the French successively attacked and carried with incredible intrepidity.

The King of Prussia had been from the beginning
of

of April engaged in preparations for the siege of Mentz, and indeed from that time the place might be considered as in a state of blockade, and the numerous garrison subsisted chiefly on horse-flesh. The king was, however, too much engaged with his new acquisitions in Poland to form any serious attack till the beginning of May. On the fourth of that month the king arrived, just at the commencement of an attack on the village of Costheim, from which, however, they were not able to dislodge the French. From this period to the beginning of June, frequent and bloody skirmishes took place between the garrison and the besieging army, without any thing decisive. On the 4th of June the French made a most desperate sortie upon the village of Marienborn, which they carried, and spiked some cannon; and on the ninth they attempted a general sortie on all sides, but were every where repulsed. The combined army opened the trenches before Mentz on the 19th and 20th of June. On the morning of the 24th the garrison made a sortie, and spiked four pieces of cannon. On the same day a large number of women and children were dismissed from the garrison; but the Prussians upon this occasion proved, if possible, more unfeeling than the Austrians at the siege of Condé. They fired upon, and actually destroyed, the greater part of these helpless and wretched creatures: many of the women, from witnessing the horrid scenes which surrounded them on this dreadful day, were seized with despair, and threw themselves with their children into the Main. On the 25th another sortie was attempted by the garrison, but they were repulsed. On the 7th of July, the strong works of the French at Costheim were carried by the allies, by which they lost eight hundred men, and seven pieces of cannon. This success was followed on the 15th by the blowing up of the laboratory in Mentz, and the destruction of a magazine of hay and straw, by the fire of the besiegers. Cassel, which covered

Mentz on the opposite side of the Rhine, was set on fire on the 17th, and several ammunition waggons were blown up. On the 18th the French army of the Rhine made a grand attempt for the relief of Mentz; they made a vigorous effort to force their way through, not far from Landau, and made their attack in three places at once; they were, however, repulsed in every part by General Wurmsers.—This last effort, therefore, proving unsuccessful, the garrison capitulated on the 22d; the principal condition of which was, that they should not serve for the space of one year against the allies. On the 8th of August the French were driven from the strong position which they had taken behind the Scheld, and which was known by the name of Cæsar's camp: as the French did not make much resistance on this occasion, the loss on both sides was not considerable.

On the 18th of June, 1793, a gallant action took place off Portland, between Captain Sir Edward Pellew, in *La Nymphé* frigate, and Captain Jean Mullan, in the French ship *Cleopatra*. The commencement of the action was the most noble and awful that the naval history of the world ever recorded; that even of Paul Jones and the *Serapis* not excepted. The French captain ordered his ship to be manned, and, coming forward on the gangway, in the most firm and collected manner, pulled off his hat, and called out, "*Vive la nation!*" which was re-echoed by the whole of the French ship's company, who gave three cheers. Captain Pellew, in like manner, ordered his men from quarters to the shrouds, and gave three noble huzzas to "Long live King George the Third!" and, putting on his hat, he gave the signal for close action, one of the most desperate ever fought. The greatest part of the time the two ships were yard-arm and yard-arm, and so close that any person might have been killed by pistol-shot. In this manner the action was supported, with undiminished valour on both sides, for
near



Dodd, del.

J. Page sculp.

*An exact Representation of the boarding and taking the Cleopatra French Frigate.
By the La Nymphe, Capt. Sir Edward Pellew,*



SIR EDWARD PELLEW.

Published as the Act directs Dec: 1st 1801.

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near an hour; when the mizen-mast and the tiller of the *Cleopatra's* rudder being shot away, she fell foul of *La Nymphe*, and became entangled in her shrouds: at this instant orders were given to board her, which was done with such courage and intrepidity, that the British sailors attacked the Frenchmen at their quarters, drove them with great slaughter from their guns, and struck the French colours themselves, a circumstance scarcely to be heard of in the naval annals of any country. The *Nymphe* carried 36 guns and 250 men; the *Cleopatra* 40 guns and 320 men. The French captain was killed early in the action, and the second captain died of his wounds.

His majesty, in proof of his high approbation of the conduct of Capt. Pellew, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, and settled a liberal annuity on Lady Pellew during her life. Captain Israel Pellew, who was with his brother, and rendered infinite service in the action, was promoted to the rank of post-captain; and Mr. Amherst Morris, first lieutenant of *La Nymphe*, to the rank of master and commander.

After the reduction of Valenciennes, a grand council of war was held, in which a project of the British ministry for the separation of the army, and for an attack on French Flanders, was submitted to the allies. Two other plans were submitted to the council by these officers. The first was to penetrate to Paris by the assistance of the rivers which fall into the Seine, on which the heavy stores and artillery might be transported. The other, which was that of Prince Cobourg and General Clairfait, was to take immediate advantage of the alarm which the surrender of Valenciennes had occasioned, and the disorder of the French armies from the denunciation of the generals, and with forty or fifty thousand light troops penetrate to Paris, while a debarkation might be made on the side of Brittany, to assist the royalists in that quarter. It is

evident that none of these plans was consistent with true policy. Whatever number of troops had been detached to Paris would have been surrounded and cut off; and as to assisting the royalists in Brittany, it is certain that the aid of foreign troops would not have added to the popularity of their cause; besides, that such a circumstance must have rendered their army stationary, and consequently exposed to the danger of a complete defeat; whereas, it was by occasionally dispersing and assembling during the night at a moment's notice, and by taking advantage of the woods and covers, that they were enabled, for a length of time, to harass the republicans. That the project of attacking West Flanders was illconceived, the event sufficiently proved. A wise statesman perhaps would have rejected all these plans, and have embraced the opportunity which the distresses of the French now afforded, to establish an advantageous peace. But, in consequence of the preponderating influence of the British ministry in the council of war, the plan of attacking West Flanders was adopted.

This scheme being finally agreed on, the British, Hanoverians, and the Dutch, with some Hessians and Austrians, separated from the main army, and commenced their march to Dunkirk on the 12th of August 1793. To ensure success to the grand object of the expedition, the Duke of York, who commanded this army, sent over an exact list of the ordnance, ammunition, and stores, requisite for the siege of Dunkirk; and which he particularly directed to be ready by the time at which his royal highness intended to be with his army before that town; and without which it was impossible for him to attempt the siege with any prospect of success. The master of the ordnance (the Duke of Richmond) was startled at the magnitude of the order: he instantly sent for the principal store-keeper and other officers of the warren, to know if they had the quantity required, and could embark it in the time mentioned.

mentioned. They undertook the order, and actually on the next day, by uncommon exertions, the whole demand of ordnance, ammunition, and stores, was on the water edge ready for embarkation. But his grace, still doubting of the safety of thus disarming the country, which he affected to represent as in a state of imminent danger, remonstrated to his royal highness upon the inexpediency of supplying his demand at that time. Three weeks were consumed in the correspondence between the commander in chief of the British forces, who had ordered what ordnance and ammunition he found necessary, and the master-general of the ordnance, who chose to demur to the command. In the mean time the ammunition and stores were again deposited in the store-houses, lest they should be damaged by lying thus exposed on the open shore. His royal highness, to avoid warning the enemy of his intentions, filled up the time of this extraordinary negotiation with the army of the Prince of Cobourg. But in vain; for the enemy, during this very period, either knowing or suspecting the views of the British cabinet, increased the garrison of Dunkirk by an augmentation of twelve thousand troops. On the 16th of August the Duke of York encamped at Turcoin, where a council of war was held on the succeeding day; on the 18th the British marched to a camp which had been marked out near Menin, and found the Dutch, under the hereditary prince of Orange, engaged in an attack on the French outposts, in which his highness was repulsed. On this occasion three battalions of the British guards, consisting of 1122 men, were ordered under General Lake to march to the succour of some Dutch troops at Lincelles. Upon their arrival they found a redoubt of uncommon size and strength, occupied by five thousand French, who had dislodged and routed the Dutch from that post. "General Lake," says the Gazette, "embraced a resolution worthy of the troops he commanded. He advanced under

under a heavy fire, with an order and intrepidity for which no praise can be too high. After firing three or four rounds, they rushed on with their bayonets, stormed the redoubts, and drove the enemy through the village, who lost eleven pieces of cannon, two of which had been taken from the Dutch, and have not since appeared in that quarter." In this action Colonel Bosville was killed, and some hundreds of the British troops killed and wounded; and, after all, the works of Lincelles were immediately destroyed, and the post left unoccupied.

The Duke of York, having at last received intelligence that the ammunition and ordnance he had demanded were shipped, began his march towards Dunkirk on the 20th of August. On the 23d he summoned the governor to surrender the town to his Britannic majesty; to which summons he received next day the following laconic answer:—"Invested with the confidence of the French republic, I have received your summons to surrender an important city. I answer by assuring you, that I shall defend it with the brave republicans I have the honour to command." Besides the heavy artillery for the siege, which had not as yet arrived, a grand flotilla was promised by the British cabinet to co-operate in the siege: the most solemn assurances were given to the Duke of York, that unless delayed by contrary winds this flotilla should certainly be in the bay of Dunkirk on the 24th. The wind, however, had been favourable for some time, yet the reinforcement did not sail from Woolwich till the 26th, on which day Admiral Macbride, who was to command that expedition, received his final orders. The public was in the mean time amused with details of the bravery and intrepidity of the British troops in skirmishing and in repelling the forties of the enemy; who, it was now found, were sixteen thousand strong. In one of these attacks, the ardour of the troops carried them further in the pursuit

suit than was intended, and brought them under the cannon of the place, by which a considerable loss was sustained: the Austrian general Dalton and Colonel Eld of the Coldstream regiment of guards were among the killed. On the 27th, some heavy stores and artillery were landed off Nieuport, and three days after Major Hudleston arrived at Ostend, with a further supply of artillery, ammunition, and stores, for the reduction of Dunkirk. The French gun-boats greatly annoyed the British troops during the whole time they were within their reach. Admiral Macbride was therefore dispatched to London to enforce the necessity of sending immediately a naval force of gun-boats bomb-vessels, and other light craft, as well as more forces to co-operate with the besieging army.

Independent of the general reliance which the Duke of York had in the intrepidity of his troops, he had also an expectation of being admitted into the town by a *golden key*. He had kept up a secret correspondence with the former governor, General O'Moran, nor did he, till his arrival, know, that the plan had been discovered, and that O'Moran was removed from his post, and convicted of the treachery, for which he was afterwards executed. Although General O'Meara, who had at first succeeded his countryman O'Moran in the command of the garrison, answered the summons of the Duke of York, yet the besieged had at that time actually removed O'Meara from the chief command, not choosing to repose so important a trust in a foreigner, and a countryman of the person who had so recently engaged to betray them.

On the 25th, the siege might be said regularly to commence, but from that time to the 6th of September, nothing of material importance occurred. On the 6th, however, the covering army of General Freytag was surprised and totally routed, before the Duke of York was even acquainted with the approach of the enemy. The first intelligence he received of
this

this disastrous event was by a note written with a pencil. At the same moment a sortie from the garrison was announced, and a most precipitate retreat was the consequence. The loss of British troops in the confusion of such a surprise was fortunately not very great; but his royal highness narrowly escaped being surrounded and made prisoner. All the ammunition and stores were either left to the enemy or thrown into the canal. The fine train of artillery, which had moved so reluctantly from Woolwich Warren, was only landed to be lost. Sixty-four of the heavy cannon were thrown into the canal, seven were buried in the earth, and forty-three left in the field. In the retreat of the Hanoverians, his royal highness Prince Adolphus and General Freytag were both wounded and taken prisoners, but were afterwards rescued. Above three thousand five hundred Hanoverians were killed, besides very severe losses in every other corps of which the covering army was composed. It is now well understood, that if General Houchard, who commanded the French army on this occasion, had done his duty, he might have effectually cut off the retreat of the Duke of York, and captured almost the whole of the allied army. For this gross neglect the French general was afterwards denounced, and suffered by the sentence of the revolutionary tribunal.

The army of the allies, which remained under Prince Cobourg and General Clairfait, was not in the main more successful. On the 8th of August a detachment of this army attempted to form the siege of Cambray; but after remaining for some days before the town, the Austrian general was obliged to raise the siege. Bouchain was also invested, but was afterwards relieved. Quefnoy was the only quarter in which the allies were at this period successful. That place surrendered on the 11th of September, to General Clairfait; a considerable detachment, which had been sent to its relief, having been previously repulsed by Prince Cobourg. On

On the side of the Rhine a number of petty actions took place, in which the French were generally successful, but which were productive of no event of importance. On the 22d of August, General Landremont assumed the command at Weissembourgh, and continued skirmishing till the conclusion of the month. On the 7th of September he attacked the army of the allies in several points, and drove them back with great loss; at the post of Lauterbourg only, he asserts that the allies lost one thousand five hundred men. This success was followed on the 12th by a general attack, in which the French are said to have killed two thousand Austrians and emigrants, dismounted a battery, and spiked several pieces of cannon.

The French army of the north, after raising the siege of Dunkirk, took a strong position in the neighbourhood of Maubeuge, where they were immediately blocked by the whole united force of the allies, collected under the Prince of Cobourg. Upon the 15th and 16th of October, however, the prince was attacked by the troops of the republic, under general Jourdan (who succeeded Houchard) with such vigour and effect, that he was compelled, after an immense loss, to abandon his position, and repass the Sambre. Elated with this success, the French immediately made inroads into Maritime Flanders. They attacked the allied forces in several places at once; they took possession of Werwick, and obliged General Erback to abandon Menin, and retreat to Courtray. On the 22d they advanced and took Furnes; they then proceeded to Nieuport, which they besieged and greatly damaged; but the place was saved by having recourse to inundation. It was some time before the allied forces were able to stop the progress of the French, and their generals even trembled for the fate of Ostend. A considerable armament from England, however, being at that time preparing for the West Indies, under Sir Charles Grey, their destination was altered; and by arriving at the fortunate moment at

Ostend, they protracted for a short time the crisis, when the low countries were to become once more subject to the dominion of France.

The forces of the republic were still more eminently successful in repelling the attempts of the royalists, in the department of La Vendée. General Biron repulsed the army of the insurgents from Luçon, on the 28th of June, and nearly about the same time the city of Nantz was relieved from their incursions by General Beysser. Chatillon was rescued from them on the 3d of July by General Westermann; but on the following day he was surprised by the royalists, and compelled to retreat to Parthenay. On Westermann's defeat, he was summoned to Paris to answer for his conduct, but was honourably acquitted. The chief command after this circumstance devolved on General Beysser, who in several skirmishes put the royalists to flight. In the beginning of August they were again defeated by General Rossignol. On the 10th of that month, however, while the citizens were celebrating the civic feast, General Charette, the commander in chief of the insurgents, vigorously assailed the city of Nantz, but was repulsed with loss.

In the mean time, blood and devastation marked the progress of the royalist soldiers. Their religious ceremonies and their military discipline were a strange compound of superstition and cruelty: they are even accused of having mingled the sacramental wine with the blood of their adversaries, and administered it to the people. One of their standards, which was presented to the national convention, was white on one side, and red on the other; on the red side was embroidered the figure of a bishop, in his pontificals; and on the white, the virgin Mary, with the infant Jesus in her arms. They gained a considerable advantage over the republicans at Parthenay, in the latter end of August. On the 7th of September, however, General Rossignol achieved a signal victory over the insurgents

furgents at Pont-de-cé; and in conjunction with Sauterre routed them again at Douay, Thouars, and Ervaux, on the succeeding days. In the latter end of September the garrison of Mentz was ordered to march into La Vendée, and on the 6th of October the advanced guard vanquished an army of twenty-five thousand royalists. It would be tedious to enter into a more minute detail of this war; it is sufficient to state, that the unfortunate insurgents made a most vigorous resistance to every effort of the convention till the middle of October, 1793, when they were completely routed. After being driven from La Vendée, they divided into three bodies. The first threw themselves into the island of Noirmoutier, where they remained some time in a state of blockade, but were at length subdued. The second seems to have dispersed; and the third took the route of Anjou, Maine, and Britany, where they carried on for a while a desultory warfare, but were at length gradually dispersed.

The disaffection of some of the other French provinces to the new government, which immediately followed what is called the revolution of the 31st of May, was productive of still more serious consequences to France, and which tended to revive in the allied powers the hope of ultimate success. The department of Calvados was the first in arms, and a formidable force was collected about the latter end of June in the neighbourhood of Caen, under the command of General Felix Wimpfen, the hero of Thionville, and under the supposed direction of the fugitive deputies, Petion, Buzot, and Barbaroux. In the beginning of July this body of troops, which was called the departmental army, had advanced as far as Evreux: but the people were evidently not hearty in the cause; for, on the approach of the republican army under General Seppar, after a slight skirmish with the advanced guard, they retired again into Calvados; and

before the end of the month completely dispersed, and the department returned to its allegiance. Petition, Buzot, Barbaroux, Salles, Volladi, Wimpfen, &c. fled; but the majority of them were soon after taken, and delivered up to the revolutionary tribunal.

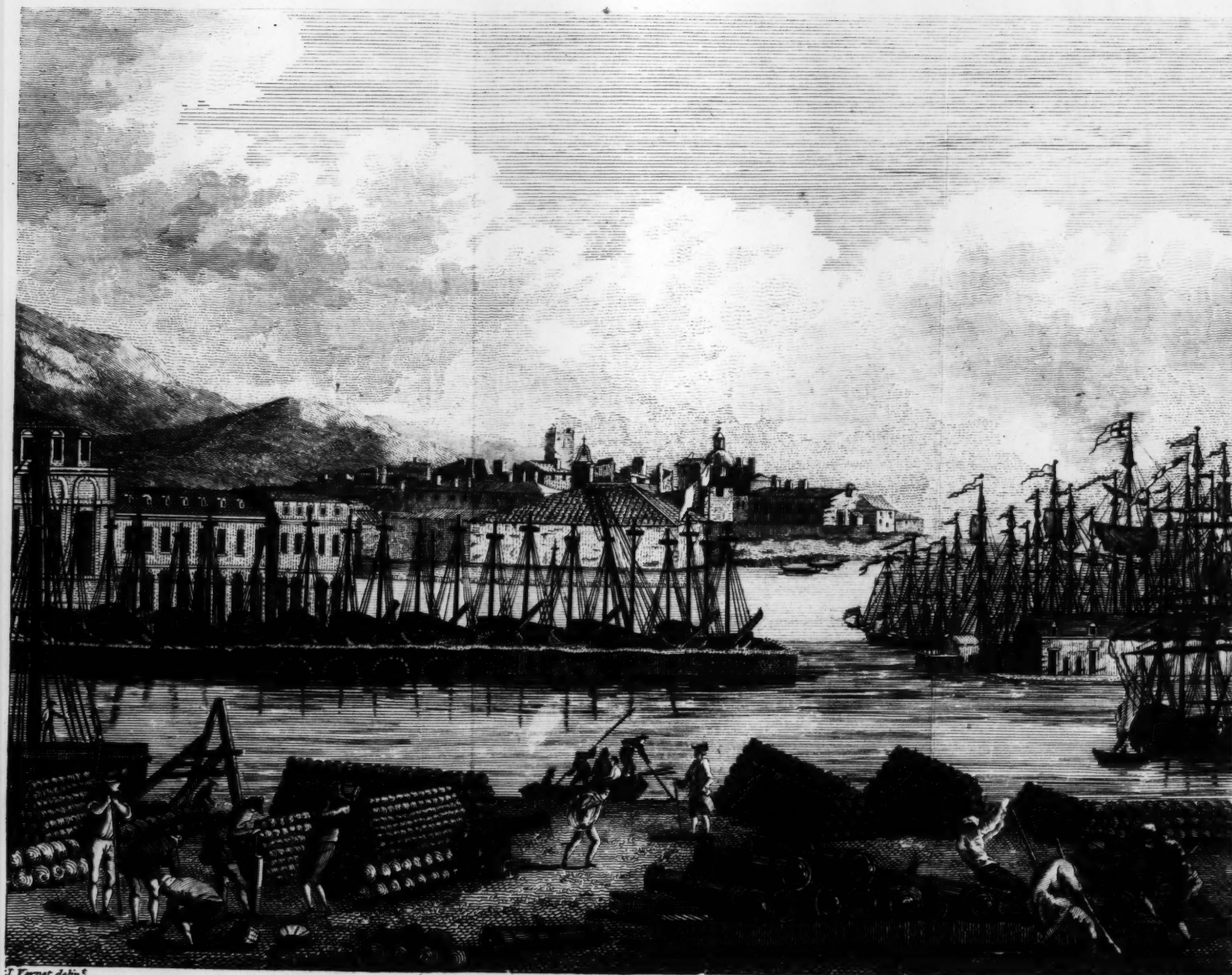
The formidable union which took place under the name *federate republicanism*, between the cities of Marseilles, Lyons, and Toulon, still however continued, and seemed to threaten almost the dissolution of the existing authorities. A considerable force was dispatched against them under General Cartaux in the latter end of July; and in the beginning of August the Marseillois were driven from the department of Vaucluse, which they had previously occupied. On the 24th, the republicans attacked and took the town of Aix; and immediately upon this success the Marseillois opened their gates and submitted.

But the people of Toulon and the French admiral Trugoff entered into a negotiation with the English admiral, Lord Hood, who was then cruising in the Mediterranean, and he took possession of the town and the shipping in the name of Louis XVII. and under the express and positive stipulation that he was to assist in restoring the *constitution of 1789*.

Toulon is open to the south, and sheltered to the north by very high mountains, which render its port one of the largest and safest in the world. The city is pretty large: is about ten leagues east from Marseilles, twenty-four south-west from Nice, and one hundred and twenty-five south from Paris. It is a strong city, adorned with several churches, monasteries, and other public edifices. Henry IV. fortified it with strong walls, and built two large moles, each of which is 700 paces long, inclosing almost the whole port; near them is also an arsenal, furnished with all sorts of naval stores, whence the largest ships of the French navy are usually fitted out; and, for their security, the fortifications were greatly increased by
Louis



VICE ADMIRAL LORD HOOD.



J. Vernet delin.

J. Papp sculp.

View of the Town and Harbour of Toulon, from the Gun Wharf.

Louis XIV. On two sides of the city, viz. the north-east and south-west, lie very steep and inaccessible hills; that on the north-east, called St. Ann's, perfectly commands the town, and sinks with a declivity on that side; but, on the country-side, it is a perpendicular rock.

The city is on the sea-side, extremely well defended by batteries flanking all the avenues. In the mouth of the harbour lies a stockade or boom, between which, and a narrow neck of land, there is a good deep channel, secured by a large tower, called fort Pharon, whereon are mounted 30 guns, 24-pounders. This tower, or fort, is to the west of Toulon, upon a steep hill, and of very difficult access. It commands the forts of St. Catherine and l'Artigues, as well as the towns of La Valette and Toulon, and even Fort La Malgue.

The port of Toulon is one of the finest in Europe. You enter first into a large and very safe road, defended by several batteries and forts. At one of the extremities of this road lies the port, the entrance of which is so narrow, that only one ship at a time can enter it, and is well defended by several batteries well mounted with cannon. It was in August that Vice-admiral Lord Hood, with a British fleet, invested this important place; on the 25th of which month, the whole garrison unanimously agreed to surrender, in trust, to his lordship, as the representative of the King of Great Britain, until the disputes with France should be finally adjusted, when the same should be restored to Louis XVII. In consequence whereof, the French fleet at anchor in this port, consisting of 17 ships of war, were immediately ordered into the inner harbour, their crews discharged, the ships dismantled and lashed together, that in case of an insurrection among the inhabitants, or of being overpowered by the land forces, the whole might be set on fire, and destroyed, which we shall find was afterwards obliged to be done.

In the mean time, General Kellermann, who commanded

manded the army of the Alps, was dispatched against Lyons. It contained an immense and mixed multitude of the discontented citizens of every class, some royalists, some of the first emigrants, and a considerable number of the Gironde party. The city remained in a state of blockade from the 8th of August; but the first attack was resisted with great bravery. On the twenty-second and twenty-third, the Lyonese are computed to have lost not less than two thousand men, and a great part of the city was reduced to a heap of ruins. In the month of September, as it appeared Kellermann had not been sufficiently active, General Doppet, a young officer, who had just exchanged the profession of a physician for that of a soldier, was appointed to the command; and on the 8th of October the city of Lyons surrendered to that general. The chiefs of the royalists had fled, but several of them were afterwards taken and executed. By a subsequent decree of the convention, the wall and public buildings of Lyons were ordered to be destroyed, and the name of the city itself to be changed to that of *Ville Affranchie*.

Among the victims of popular resentment which fell about this period was the celebrated General Custine, whose former services to the republic should have secured him a more honourable destiny. He was called to Paris from the command of the northern army in the beginning of July, and on the 18th arrived in that capital, from which he was never to return. On the 22d he was committed by a decree of the convention to the Abbey prison; and in the beginning of August was brought before the revolutionary tribunal. The charges against him were—"That he had maintained a secret correspondence with the enemy—That he had left the garrison of Mentz unprovided with necessities; in consequence of which many brave defenders of their country perished, and the whole suffered the extreme of famine and misery, and were at last compelled

elled to capitulate—That there existed a letter signed Custine, in which he engaged D'Ogse commandant of Mentz to deliver up the place to the Prussians—That he had insulted the national representation by disobeying its orders, and by asserting publicly in a letter to the minister, ‘that such decrees as he did not approve only served him for *papillottes*’ (curl papers)—That finally he had not exerted himself properly to prevent Valenciennes from falling into the hands of the enemy.” How far these charges were well founded, it is impossible to determine. The unfortunate general, in the crisis of his adversity, lamented that he appeared forsaken by every friend; and the populace of Paris, accustomed to sights of horror, beheld the execution of their former defender with calm indifference, or with brutal exultation.

The trial and condemnation of the queen immediately succeeded that of Custine. She had been removed on the night of the 1st of August from the temple to a small and miserable apartment in the prison of the Conciergerie, where she remained till she was brought before the revolutionary tribunal on the 15th of October. The act of accusation consisted of several charges, the substance of which was—“That she had contributed to the derangements of the national finances, by remitting from time to time considerable sums to her brother, the emperor Joseph—That since the revolution she had continued to hold a criminal correspondence with foreign powers—That in every instance she had directed her views to a counter revolution, particularly in exciting the body guards and others of the military at Versailles on the 1st of October 1789—That she was a principal agent and promoter of the flight of the royal family in June 1791—That she instituted private councils in the palace, at which the massacres, as they were termed, in the camp de Mars, at Nancy, &c. were planned.”—One of the most singular and absurd charges was—“That in conjunction

tion with a scandalous faction (that of the Gironde) she induced the king and the assembly to declare war against Austria, contrary to every principle of sound policy and the public welfare." The act proceeds to state—"That she communicated to the enemy plans of the campaign and other intelligence—That she was also a principal agent in the internal war with which France has been distressed." The last charge was the most infamous and the most incredible, viz.—"That, like Agrippa, she had held an incestuous commerce with her own son." On the trial a number of witnesses were examined, but few of the charges appeared to be sufficiently substantiated. That she treated her son with regal respect was proved; but the horrid charge of incest was made upon the authority merely of some indistinct communications from the boy Capet to the mayor of Paris.—Had the conduct of Marie Antoinette been less exceptionable than there is reason to believe it was, there is little probability that she could have escaped. After an hour's consultation, therefore, the jury brought in their verdict—"Guilty of all the charges." The queen heard the sanguinary sentence with dignity and resignation; perhaps indeed it might be considered by her less as a punishment than as a release. On the 16th of October, at about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, she was conducted from the prison of the Conciergerie to a scaffold prepared in the Place de la Revolution, where her unfortunate husband had previously suffered. Her behaviour at that awful moment was decent and composed.

Turning from these sanguinary scenes, we must now advert to the state of the armies and the conclusion of the campaign.—The defeat of the allies was in some small measure compensated to England by the intelligence, that in the beginning of October the royalists of Fort Jeremie, in St. Domingo, had invited the English to take possession of that part of the island, and that Cape Nicola Mole submitted in a few days after

to the British arms. In the East Indies also, Pondicherry, and the other French settlements on the coast of Coromandel, were taken by the English.

Early in the month of September, Landau had been invested by the allies; but while the French maintained the strong lines at Weiffembourg, and on the Lauter, there was but little prospect of success. On the 15th of October, therefore, the Austrian general Wurmser made a grand attack upon the lines of Lauter; and, if the French accounts are true, their generals permitted the Austrians almost without resistance to force the lines. The whole of the lines, with the town of Lauterburg, were carried, which Wurmser himself confesses might have held out a siege of several days. The French lost also the whole of their artillery. The town of Weiffembourg made a formidable resistance, and it was not carried without the loss of between seven and eight hundred men. The French retreated towards Haguenau, from which however they were dislodged on the eighteenth.

The Austrian general lost no time in proceeding towards Strasburg, and on the 25th again routed the French, and was enabled to take possession of Wanzenau. On the 27th he was attacked by the French; but they were compelled to retreat, with the supposed loss of three thousand men. In the beginning of November the deputies St. Just and Le Bas were sent to Strasburg to re-organize the discomfited troops. They ordered immense reinforcements from the neighbouring departments; and, to afford a salutary example of severity, General Irembert, who was convicted of treachery in the affair of the lines of Weiffembourg, was shot at the head of the army on the 9th. A conspiracy was also detected at Strasburg, for delivering up the place to the enemy, and the traitors were punished. These spirited proceedings were not sufficient however to save Fort Louis, which fell into the hands of General Wurmser on the 14th of November, not without

strong suspicions of treachery on the part of the commandant. Here however the successes of Wurmser terminated; for on the 21st of November the Austrians were compelled to retreat, and the French army penetrated to Vautruan, and almost to the gates of Haguenau. In the mean time the army of the Moselle advanced to co-operate with the grand army of the Rhine; and on the 17th of November the Prussians were defeated near Saarbruck with some loss. On the succeeding day the Prussian camp at Blies-castle was stormed and taken by the French, under General Hoche, who immediately advanced to Deux Ponts. The post of Hornback, and the heights of Mille-back, were carried with great bravery by the French; and the Prussians were immediately compelled to abandon Deux Ponts.

On the 29th and 30th of November the French were repulsed with considerable loss in two spirited attacks made on the Duke of Brunswick's posts near Lautern; but the republicans under General Pichegru, on the 8th of December, carried with fixed bayonets all the redoubts of the allies which covered Haguenau; and on the 22d the allies were driven with an immense slaughter from Bischoilers, Dufenheim, and Haguenau, notwithstanding the almost continued works by which they had covered the line which joins the two posts. The entrenchments on the heights of Reishoffen, Jaudershoffen, and Freyeivillers Radneith, are said to be not less formidable than those of Jemappe, and formed three rows of redoubts which the allies considered as impregnable. They were however stormed by the army of the Moselle, under General Hoche, who had joined Pichegru, and carried sword in hand.

On the 23d and 24th, the French pursued the allies to the heights of Wrotte, where they had also erected most formidable entrenchments. On the 26th General Pichegru prepared to attack these entrenchments in form, but after a fruitless cannonade, the
republican

republican soldiers called out to found the charge, and marched up to the very foot of the entrenchments. A desperate conflict ensued, which lasted from two o'clock in the afternoon till five. At half past six the French were masters of the heights, and at ten all the posts were abandoned. On the 27th the republican army entered Weissembourg in triumph. General Wurmser made good his retreat to the Rhine, and the Duke of Brunswick hastily retreated to cover Mentz. The Prince of Hohenloe had summoned Landau on the 14th of December; but receiving an indignant reply from the commandant, General Laudabere, the Prussian general Knobelsdorf attempted to establish an intercourse with the garrison, which was rejected. In consequence of the retreat of the allies, the siege was raised. Kiefferlautern, Guernersheim, and Spires, immediately submitted to the French in consequence of these victories.

In the north but little was performed on either side during the latter part of the campaign. On the 19th of November, a trifling skirmish took place between a part of the garrison of Ypres and a party of the French who attempted to establish themselves at Poperinghue, from which they were dislodged with the loss of forty-five prisoners. On the 28th of the same month, they attacked the out-posts of the Duke of York at Nechin and Liers, but were repulsed with some loss; and on the 30th they were again unsuccessful in an attack on the same posts.

The siege of Toulon was commenced immediately after the reduction of Marseilles. On the 8th of September, General Carteaux arrived at the passes of Olioulles. The English and Spaniards occupied the heights on the right, and the royalists those on the left. As soon as the French general was perceived, he was saluted by a general shout of *Vive Louis Dix-sept*, and by a discharge of musketry. At mid-day he ordered the attack, and by two o'clock the royalists were

dispersed, 150 of them being killed upon the spot, and a number of prisoners taken. On the 1st of October the republican troops carried the height of Pharon, which the English had fortified; but after retaining it a few hours, reinforcements arriving, they were forced again to abandon the post. On the 14th an action took place between the garrison, who had marched out to the defence of the redoubt of Malbousquet, and the army of Carteaux, in which the English and the allies lost about forty men and the French about thirty. On the the succeeding day Cape Brun was taken by the republicans; and at the same time a detachment from the garison, sent to occupy the heights of Thouars, was dislodged, and obliged to retreat into the town. The allies lost in both actions above one hundred men.

In the beginning of November, General Carteaux was ordered to the command of the army in Italy, and General Doppet was appointed to the command of the besieging army of Toulon. About the same period General O'Hara arrived with reinforcements from Gibraltar at Toulon, having been appointed governor and commander in chief.

By this time Lyons had capitulated to the troops belonging to the convention, and a powerful army now invested Toulon; the forces in which, although numerous, appertained to different nations, and were not animated either by the same sentiments or the same interests. On the other hand, the deputies with the French army provided cannon, ammunition, and provisions, in abundance; whatever the besiegers required was obtained instantly by requisition, and all the exploits of the soldiery were at once witnessed and rewarded by the representatives of the people. Dugommier, a general who had already distinguished himself by his victories over the forces of the King of Sardinia, was now appointed commander in chief; and, as the surrender of the great naval arsenal of the south much depended on the management of the immense artillery employed

employed against it, great pains were taken to find an engineer every way worthy of the occasion. Such a person was at length discovered in Napoleone Bonaparte, an obscure Corsican, who had been educated at the military academy in France, and served as a lieutenant in the regiment of La Fere. Having fled from the troubles that prevailed in his native island, he now offered his services, and was employed by the deputy Barras, on the recommendation of his countryman Salicetti, and contributed not a little by his military talents to decide both the fate of Toulon and of France.

The very first operation was decisive of success. Knowing that the possession of Malbousquet, one of the principal outposts of Toulon, would enable him to bombard the town and arsenal, Bonaparte accordingly opened a strong battery of heavy cannon and mortars on the height of Arenes, which annoyed that position exceedingly, by means of an incessant fire of shot and shells. As it became necessary to take immediate and effectual measures for the security of so important a post, Governor O'Hara determined to destroy the new works, termed the convention-battery, and bring off the artillery. The detachments sent for this purpose accomplished it with silence and success; and the French troops were surprised and fled. Elated unfortunately with the facility of the conquest, the allied troops rushed forward in pursuit of their flying foes, when they unexpectedly encountered a considerable force which was proceeding to cover the retreat of the fugitives. At this moment General O'Hara arrived upon the spot; and, while he was exerting himself to bring off his troops with regularity, he received a wound in his arm, and was made prisoner. It is said that near a thousand of the British and allied forces were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, on this occasion.

Lord Hood in his dispatch to government, dated on the day when this unfortunate event took place, was pleased to observe that, "the governor promised not

to go out himself, but unfortunately did not keep his word." This remark, which seems to implicate something like reproach, was undoubtedly produced by the bitterness of his lordship's grief at the event of this unfortunate expedition. The letter of Sir Gilbert Elliot, on the other hand, contains a complete justification of his excellency: "It is much to be lamented that General O'Hara was, on every occasion, so prodigal of his person; but the misfortune which has befallen him, and the severe loss which the service sustains by his capture, cannot be ascribed even to this honourable fault; for he did not himself ascend the battery till it was possessed by our troops, and there was reason to suppose the object of the day had been obtained. The reverse was so sudden, and his presence must have appeared so material towards restoring order, and retrieving the error which had been committed by the troops, that it is not to be wondered at, if, with his spirit, he became exposed to personal hazard. His wound, though not dangerous or serious, has bled much; and, added to the exertion he had before made, weakened him so much that he could not retire many paces with the troops, but insisted on being left by two soldiers who were conducting him, and whom he ordered to proceed and save themselves."

The events of this day, added to the capture of the brave officer who had acted both in the capacity of governor and military commander, contributed not a little to raise the expectations of the besiegers; they now began to make nearer approaches to the place, and, by means of their batteries, not only attacked the posts of Malbousquet, Le Brun, and fort Mulgrave, on the heights of Balaguier, at the same time, but threatened a general assault.

Nor were these events to be despised. The garrison at this period was reduced to the most alarming situation; and the enemy, whose force was constantly increasing, amounted to nearly forty thousand men, commanded

commanded by an able general, while the batteries were managed under the direction of one of the best engineers of his age. On the other hand, the allied troops, composed of five different nations and languages, never exceeded twelve thousand rank and file. With these, now greatly diminished by death and disease, a circumference of fifteen miles, for the defence of the town and harbour, was to be occupied and defended, by means of eight principal and several intermediate posts, which alone required nearly nine thousand men.

The French, being determined to push on the siege with increased vigour, relieved such of their troops as were fatigued, by fresh ones, and at two in the morning, Dec. 17. opened two new batteries on fort Mulgrave, and from these and three former ones continued a very heavy cannonade and bombardment, which killed many of the troops, and destroyed the works. As the weather proved rainy, they afterwards found means to assemble a large body of forces secretly, with which they stormed the fortification, and entered with screwed bayonets by that side defended by the Spaniards. On this the British, and such of the other troops as had not been killed during the assault, were obliged to retire towards the shore of Balaguier.

At day-break another attack took place on all the posts occupied by the garrison on the mountain of Pharon. They were repulsed however on the east side, by about seven hundred men, commanded by Colonel Le Jermagnan, a Piedmontese officer, who perished upon this occasion; but they found means to penetrate by the back of the mountain, although eighteen hundred feet high and deemed inaccessible, so as to occupy the side which overlooks Toulon. In the course of this day's fight, all the English troops conducted themselves with great bravery; while the French, invigorated by zeal, and trusting to their numbers, charged with unusual intrepidity and success.

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The deputy Arena headed one of their columns, and the generals Cervoni and Bonaparte particularly distinguished themselves.

As it was deemed impracticable to regain the posts that had been taken, and the town was not tenable while they remained in the possession of the enemy, it was determined to evacuate Toulon. A council of war was held, on the morning of the 18th, by the three generals who commanded the combined troops; when it was determined, that all merchants-ships and transports, of whatever nation, (of which there were more than an hundred,) should immediately go out of the port, and place themselves in the road under the protection of the English and Spanish squadrons, which anchored under Fort La Malgue. All the Toulonese royalists were at the same time permitted to embark, and get out of every danger. At the same time the Neapolitan general Forteguerra ordered the Neapolitan troops to embark on-board of twelve transports, and three ships of war of 74 guns each, two frigates, two corvettes, and a brigantine. The embarkation was performed with the greatest order and expedition: and, after their baggage was on-board, they sailed, but with little wind; for at nine o'clock in the evening they were only three miles distant from the road of Toulon. The other ships and all the French men-of-war left the port, and were ready in the great road. The embarkation of the rest of the troops, and of many thousands of the Toulonese, was executed in the greatest order, as was also the carrying away the naval stores and other effects. It was necessary, however, to leave all the artillery behind, but completely spiked; but it is said that the French succeeded in rendering them serviceable again.

In the town, on the morning of the 18th, an insurrection of the malcontents took place, who taking advantage of the disorder, and of the flight of the royalists, fell upon them with sabres and every kind of weapons,

weapons, and made a horrid carnage of them, in order to seize their effects. The loss of the allies is computed to be 3000 men; that of the French, both of the town and belonging to the army, more than 10,000.

The scene of the embarkation of the troops at Toulon was in the extreme degree calamitous and afflicting. The greatest part of the inhabitants, who had not been so decided and active in their support of the allies, and who therefore foresaw that they must be left behind, abandoned themselves to the influence of complete despair. They descended in immense numbers to the sea-side. The aged and the infirm, men, women, and children, threw themselves upon the shore in the greatest agony, and intreated protection in the most pathetic terms; the British fleet, however, could contain no more persons, and their intreaties therefore could not be complied with. The unfurling of the sails and the weighing of the anchors added to the distress and despair of the unhappy spectators; and induced several to plunge into the sea, and to attempt to swim to the ships. Others committed suicide on shore; the remainder returned to the city, when a battle ensued, in which many fell on both sides.

Before the place was abandoned, the commanding officers of the allies ordered the most important parts of the port to be set on fire; and, by day-break a most terrible fire was seen at a great distance, which consumed the arsenal, some fortifications, and even the basin of the port. But Lord Hood observes, "Circumstances which had taken place made the retreat absolutely necessary to be effected as soon as possible, and prevented the execution of a settled arrangement for destroying the French ships and arsenal. I ordered the Vulcan fire-ship to be primed, and Sir Sydney Smith, who joined me from Smyrna about a fortnight ago, having offered his services to burn the ships, I put Captain Hare under his orders, with Lieutenants Tupper and Gore of the Victory, Lieutenant Pater of

the Britannia, and Lieutenant R. W. Miller of the Windsor Castle. Ten of the enemy's ships of the line in the arsenal, and twelve smaller vessels, with the malthouse, great store-house, hemp house and other buildings, were totally destroyed, and before day-light all his majesty's ships, with those of Spain and the two Sicilies, were out of the reach of the enemy's shot and shells, except the Robust, which was to receive Captain Elphinstone, and she followed very soon after, without a shot striking her. I have under my orders Rear-admiral Trogoffi, in the Commerce de Marseilles, Puissant, and Pompée, of the line; the Pearl, Arethusa, and Topaze, frigates; and several large corvettes.

"Don Langara undertook to destroy the ships in the basin, but, I am informed, found it not practicable; and, as the Spanish troops had the guarding the powder vessels, which contained the powder of the ships I ordered into the basin and arsenal on my coming here, as well as that from the distant magazines within the enemy's reach, I requested the Spanish admiral would be pleased to give orders for their being scuttled and sunk; but, instead of doing that, the officer to whom that duty was entrusted blew them up, by which two fine gun-boats, which I had ordered to attend Sir Sydney Smith, were shaken to pieces, and the lieutenant commanding one of them was killed, and several seamen badly wounded."

Of the burning of the ships Sir Sydney Smith gives the following account in his letter to Lord Hood: "My Lord, Agreeably to your lordship's order, I proceeded with the Swallow tender, and three English and three Spanish gun-boats, to the arsenal, and immediately began making the necessary preparations for burning the French ships and stores therein. We found the dock-gates well secured by the judicious arrangements of the governor, although the dock-yard people had already substituted the three-coloured cockade for the white one. I did not think it safe to attempt the
securing



Crystal del.

Page, sculp.

An exact Representation of burning the Arsenal, & blowing up the French Ships of War, in the Harbour of Toulon.

Published as the Act directs July 1794.

securing any of them, considering the small force I had with me, and considering that a contest of any kind would occupy our whole attention, and prevent us from accomplishing our purpose.

“ A gun-boat was stationed to flank the wall on the outside, and two field-pieces were placed within against the wicker usually frequented by the workmen, of whom we were particularly apprehensive. About eight o'clock I had the satisfaction of seeing Lieutenant Gore towing in the Vulcan fireship. Captain Hare, her commander, placed in her, agreeably to my directions, in a most masterly manner, across the tier of men-of-war. In this situation we continued to wait most anxiously for the hour concerted with the governor for the inflammation of the trains. The moment the signal was made, we had the satisfaction to see the flames rise in every quarter. Lieutenant Tupper was charged with the burning of the general magazines, the pitch, tar, tallow, and oil, store-houses, and succeeded most perfectly; the hemp magazine was included in this blaze: its being nearly calm was unfortunate to the spreading of the flames, but 250 barrels of tar, divided among the deals and other timber, insured the rapid ignition of that whole quarter, which Lieutenant Tupper had undertaken.

“ The mast-house was equally well set on fire by Lieutenant Middleton, of the Britannia. Lieutenant Pater, of the Britannia, continued in a most daring manner to brave the flames, in order to complete the work where the fire seemed to have caught imperfectly. I was obliged to call him off, lest his retreat should become impracticable. Lieut. Iremonger, of the royals, remained with the guard at the gate till the last, long after the Spanish guard had withdrawn, and was brought safely off by Captain Edge of the Alert, to whom I had confided the important service of closing our retreat, and bringing off our detached parties, which were saved to a man. I was sorry to

find myself deprived of the further services of Captain Hare: he had performed that of placing his fire-ship to admiration, but was blown into the water, and much scorched, by the explosion of her priming, when in the act of putting the match to it. The guns of the fire-ship going off on both sides as they heated, in the direction that was given them, towards those quarters from whence we were most apprehensive of the enemy forcing their way in upon us, checked their career. Their shouts and republican songs, which we could hear distinctly, continued till they, as well as ourselves, were in a manner thunderstruck by the explosion of some thousand barrels of powder on-board the Iris frigate, lying in the Inner Road, without us, and which had been injudiciously set on fire by the Spanish boats, in going off, instead of being sunk, as ordered. The concussion of air, and the shower of falling timber on-fire, was such, as nearly to destroy the whole of us. Lieutenant Paty, of the Terrible, with his whole boat's crew, had nearly perished; the boat was blown to pieces, but the men were picked up alive.

“ I had given it in charge to the Spanish officers to fire the ships in the basin before the town; but they returned, and reported that various obstacles had prevented their entering it. We attempted it together, as soon as we had completed the business in the arsenal, but were repulsed in our attempt to cut the boom, by repeated volleys of musquetry from the flagship and the wall of the battery royale. The cannon of this battery had been spiked by the judicious precaution taken by the governor, previously to the evacuation of the town.

“ We now proceeded to burn the Hero and Themistocles, two seventy-four gun ships, lying in the Inner Road. Our approach to them had hitherto been impracticable in boats, as the French prisoners who had been left in the latter ship were still in possession of
of

of her, and had shewn a determination to resist our attempt to come on-board. The scene of conflagration around them, heightened by the late tremendous explosion, had however awakened their fears for their lives. Thinking this to be the case, I addressed them, expressing my readiness to land them in a place of safety, if they would submit: and they thankfully accepted the offer, shewing themselves to be completely intimidated, and very grateful for our humane intentions towards them, in not attempting to burn them with the ship. It was necessary to proceed with precaution, as they were more numerous than ourselves. We at length completed their disembarkation, and then set her on fire.

“ The explosion of a second powder-vessel, equally unexpected, and with a shock even greater than the first, again put us in the most imminent danger of perishing; and, when it is considered that we were within the sphere of the falling timber, it is next to miraculous that no one piece, of the many which made the water foam round us, happened to touch either the Swallow or the three boats with me.

“ Having now set fire to every thing within our reach, exhausted our combustible preparations and our strength to such a degree, that the men absolutely dropped on the oars, we directed our course to join the fleet, running the gauntlet under a few ill-directed shot from the forts of Balaguier and Aiguillette, now occupied by the enemy; but, fortunately, without loss of any kind. We can ascertain that the fire extended to at least ten sail of the line; how much further we cannot say. The loss of the general magazine, and of the quantity of pitch, tar, rosin, hemp, timber, cordage, and gunpowder, must considerably impede the equipment of the few ships that remain. I am sorry to have been obliged to leave any; but I hope your lordship will be satisfied that we did as much as our circumstances enabled us to do, in a limited time, pressed as we were by a force so much superior to us.”

Thus,

Thus, after a siege of about three months, and an incessant assault of five successive days and nights, Toulon was restored to France; the besieging army, which had provided four thousand ladders for an assault, having entered it at seven o'clock in the morning subsequent to the evacuation, Dec. 19. Of the inhabitants who had borne arms against their country, or favoured the cause of the allies, some still remained, and these either put an end to their existence by a voluntary death, or perished by the guillotine or the musquet. Here, as well as at Marseilles and Lyons, the most cruel punishments were inflicted on the royalists; and the conquerors not only sullied their victory, but disgraced themselves, by a terrible and indiscriminate carnage. Workmen were actually invited from all the neighbouring departments to destroy the principal houses; the population became visibly decreased by the daily butchery that took place; the name of Toulon was changed for that of *Port de la Montagne*, and a grand festival decreed in honour of the French army.

The following authentic extracts and notes written by the deputies on mission, will convey to the indignant reader some idea of the unbridled vengeance of the victors:

La vengeance nationale se deploye. On fusille à force. Déjà tous les officiers de la marine sont exterminés. La république sera vengée d'une manière digne d'elle: les mânes des patriotes seront apaisés.—"The national vengeance is shewing itself; the musket is not idle. All the sea-officers are already destroyed. The republic shall be avenged in a manner worthy of herself; the manes of the patriots shall be appeased."

Cela va bien ici; nous avons requis douze mille mâçons des départemens environnans, pour demolir et raser la ville. Tous les jours depuis notre entrée, nous faisons tomber deux cents têtes.—"All goes well here; we have put in requisition 12,000 workmen of the surrounding departments





EARL OF MOIRA

Published as the Act directs Oct. 1795

departments to demolish and raze the city of Toulon. We have caused 200 heads to be struck off every day since we entered." FRERON.

Il y a déjà huit cents Toulonnais de fusillés.—"Eight hundred Toulonese have been shot already." Signed FRERON.

The war on the side of Spain was productive of nothing but petty skirmishes, not worth detailing; and in Savoy the King of Sardinia made but a slow progress in recovering his possessions, which the British ministry were so generous as to guarantee to him at an immense expence. On the 27th of September the Piedmontese were repulsed in attempting to penetrate between Mourienne and Briançonnais. The French saw them descend from the tops of the mountain, and carried their redoubts with the bayonet. The city of Cluz was then in possession of the French, and they were proceeding to Salons. In the mean time an English vessel arrived at Nice with a flag of truce, and a proclamation to the inhabitants, exhorting them to accept the royal constitution of 1789; but the magistrates of Nice replied, "that French republicans would never become slaves, and that no other answer would be made to royalists, except from the cannon's mouth."

An expedition had been planned by the British government for the purpose of co-operating with the royalist party on the coast of Brittany, and the Earl of Moira was appointed to the command. The scheme, however, failed in the execution, for the expedition was delayed till the royalists were completely subdued; and, when the fleet and transports appeared off the coast, they found the French so far prepared for their reception, that it would have been madness to have attempted a landing.

The intent of this expedition, and the causes of its failure, were afterwards explained by Lord Moira in a debate in the house of lords upon the employment of

of French emigrants against France, and giving them British pay. His lordship mentioned, "that he had received an invitation to take upon himself the command of an expedition to be undertaken for the succour of the royalists. He was honored with his majesty's commands on the 17th of November, but owing to the adverse state of the winds and weather, the fleet did not sail from Portsmouth till the 1st of December. Previous to this, his majesty's ministers and himself had received information of a meeting held by persons deputed by ministers to the royalist army at Doll in Normandy, who had agreed on a plan of operation; but owing to the difficulty of intercourse, this information did not reach ministers till the 25th of November. By that information it was settled what signals were to be made by the English fleet on their arrival upon the coast, for the purpose of directing the troops where they thought the descent most practicable, and a variety of other matters were adjusted.— On the 1st of December they sailed, and early the next morning they made the coast of Cherbourg. He ran down the coast for a considerable extent, hoping to find the royalists in force as had been represented to him; but not one of the concerted signals, though repeatedly made by the different ships, was answered from the shore. Not knowing how to account for this circumstance, and in obedience to his orders, his lordship said he proceeded to Guernsey, where, in consequence of contrary winds, he did not arrive till the 25th. His lordship desired the house to attend to the dates which he had occasion to mention, because the whole of his explanation rested on that particular. While at Guernsey he dispatched a number of emissaries in search of the royalist army. He at length learned that the royalists had made an attack on Granville, but had been defeated, and had retreated to the banks of the Loire. All the French journals and newspapers stated, however, that one column of the royalist

alist army had directed its course towards Caen in Normandy. His lordship said, that on considering the port, which the royalists had named as the port for him to make, he found, from the peculiar difficulty of access, and from other circumstances, it would be impossible for him to throw succours into it; he therefore, by his emissaries, had sent word to the royalists of the doubts he entertained of being able to effect the purpose agreed on, and directed their march to another point. While at Guernsey a storm arose that separated him from half his squadron and troops. Conceiving, nevertheless, that the faith of the British government was pledged to the army of the royalists, he thought it his duty, be the event and consequence what they might, to lend them every possible succour which his reduced force could administer. Under the impression of this idea he put to sea, and, after he left Guernsey, he appointed the French staff, which had been rendered a subject of discussion in another house of parliament. He begged their lordships to recollect the point of time when the appointment was made—while he was expecting to land on the coast of France immediately, and when he meant not to join his army to that of the royalists, but to engraft the royalist forces on those which he had under his command; when he expected, the moment he landed, to have proceeded to battle, to find the royalists dispirited by defeats, and to have to lead them on to instant contest: it was impossible therefore for him, with any regard to prudence, to trust to the chance of subsequent opportunity. He appointed the French staff as he had stated, and it consisted of two aides-de-camp, a French secretary, and a quarter-master-general. In having appointed this staff, he had no hesitation to say, that he had not been authorized by his majesty's ministers; he conceived that the nature of his command necessarily invested him with a decree of discretion adequate to the end of the destined service. If, however, it should

be thought by his majesty's ministers that he had acted improperly, he desired it distinctly to be understood, that he took the expence upon himself, and that ministers might, if they pleased, upon the winding up of his accounts, deduct the whole amount of the expence." Thus, from his lordship's account, it appears that the original scheme of succouring the royalists was delayed till a season of the year when the attempt was not only highly dangerous, but almost impracticable. From this circumstance, the failure of Earl Moira's expedition will cease to be a matter of surprise; but when it is considered that the commander in chief was so little aided by ministerial intelligence, as to be guided by republican newspapers in the execution of his measures, a more successful termination of the undertaking could not be expected.

Thus ended the first campaign in which England took an active share, and the second ineffectual attempt of the allies to subjugate France.

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